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# THE STIRLING ANTIQUARY.



# The Stirling Antiquary.

*Reprinted from "The Stirling Sentinel,"*

1900-1903.

EDITED BY W B. COOK.

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# The Stirling Antiquary.

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## THE EARLDOM OF MENTEITH.

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### THE CANADIAN CLAIMANT'S PEDIGREE DISPROVED.

(From the "*Scottish Antiquary*.")

Although the table-pedigree printed *supra*, p. 125, has already appeared, both in *Family Records*, by Mr Ashworth P. Burke (p. 272), and in *The Genealogical Magazine* for June, 1897, it argues considerable confidence on the part of its compiler to send it for publication in *The Scottish Antiquary*, a section at least of whose readers may be presumed to have some acquaintance with Scottish family history. This pedigree is well known to be that of the Canadian claimant to the earldom of Menteith, Mr George Marshall Graham, titular of Leitchtown; and, having admitted it to his pages, the editor will, no doubt, allow space for impersonal and impartial criticism such as I wish to submit.\* Such criticism cannot fail to be of service to the pedigree-maker, because it discloses the weak links in his chain of descent, and warns him of the objections which must be answered, and the difficulties which must be met and overcome, before Mr Graham's claim can receive recognition from any competent tribunal, whether legal or literary.

With respect to the essential change made by Mr Easton upon the Leitchtown pedigree without any public explanation, it may be noted that this is not the first serious alteration for which he is

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\* We inserted Mr Easton's latest Leitchtown Pedigree, as he announced that the errors in the preceding pedigree were due to an accidental confusion of two place-names which had more or less resemblance to each other; and because, by the amended pedigree the case for Leitchtown, so far as Mr Easton is concerned, will stand or fall.—Ed.

responsible. The old pedigree (published in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ed. 1844) made Leitchtown a cadet of Gartur. Mr Easton reversed this connection, making Gartur cadet to Leitchtown, which was equally erroneous, there being a Graham of Gartur in 1553, while the first Graham of Leitchtown dates only from 1625. Patrick Graham, son of Walter, youngest son of Earl Malise, was at that time adopted as progenitor of the Leitchtown line; but this Walter, now asserted by Mr Easton (rightly or wrongly) to have been illegitimate, was set aside in favour of another Patrick, an alleged third son of Patrick, father of Alexander, second Earl of Menteith. Unfortunately, however, for this theory, Earl Alexander is known to have had only one lawful brother—Henry Graham—and therefore Mr Easton has been driven to the position he now takes up, of deducing the Leitchtown descent from an alleged younger son of Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane. These changes are not mentioned here to prejudice in any way the pedigree published in *The Scottish Antiquary*, which must be judged upon its own merits, but merely to show the doubt and uncertainty which have all along attended the attempt to connect the Grahams of Leitchtown with the Earls of Menteith.

The pedigree now to be considered sets forth as proved beyond cavil four propositions which are apparently regarded by their author as important to his case, and one of which, at least, is essential to the establishing of the descent from earl to elder. These propositions are as follows:—

1. That Gartrenich in Menteith is identical with Auchmore.
2. That Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane, a son of the third Earl of Menteith, was the Gilbert Graham who resigned the lands of Gartrenich to the fifth earl in 1576.
3. That this Gilbert had a daughter named Agnes, who was married to Jasper Graham of Blaircessnoch.
4. That the same Gilbert had also a younger son named Gilbert, designed "in Rednoch," which Gilbert was grandfather of Gilbert Graham of Leitchtown, elder of Port in 1668.

The purpose of the present article is to show, not only that none of these four propositions is proved, but that there is evidence in existence sufficient to disprove the whole of them, and to render the latest version of the Leitchtown pedigree as unreliable as the pedigrees which have been already rejected.

1.—*Disproof of the proposition that Gartrenich in Menteith is identical with Auchmore.*

It is, of course, by genealogical evidence alone that any pedigree can be established or disproved; but in this case so much has been made of what may be called the topographical argument, that it seems desirable to deal with it at the outset. Mr Easton's pedigree table begins with the following assertion:—"Patrick Graham, infeft by his father, Earl Malise, in the lands of Gartrenich, *alias* Auchmore, Port of Menteith, 19th October, 1478." But this introduction of the name "Gartrenich" is entirely unauthorised. The instrument of sasine bears that it was the lands of "Craiguchty and Auchmar in the Earldom of Menteith" in which Patrick Graham was infeft on the 19th October, 1478. It is doubtful whether at that date Gartrenich was included in the earldom. It is not mentioned in the original charter of 6th September, 1427, and if one takes this charter and compares it with Pont's map of the Lennox (*Bleau's Atlas*, 1654), Herman Moll's map of Stirlingshire (1725),\* Stobie's Survey of Perthshire (corrected up to 1805), and the Ordnance Survey map, he will see that the probability is that the eastern boundary of the territory embraced in the earldom was the burn running from Loch Macanrie to the river Forth, which march burn divides Gartrenich from the Carse of Shannochill and the small holdings of Arnachly (the Ernetly of the charter) and Auchmore, which is mentioned last, as the point nearest the Lake of Menteith. Pont's and Moll's maps indicate approximately the respective positions of Auchmore and Gartrenich, Stobie's Survey gives their exact situation, and the Ordnance 6-inch map, while it does not print the name of Auchmore, shows by a number

\* The maps by Pont and Moll have both been recently reprinted by Messrs R. S. Shearer & Son, Stirling.

of faint dots the site of the farm-house, which is now in ruins. We come next to the charter granted by Earl Alexander to his only brother, Henry Graham, dated 16th October, 1510. According to the *Red Book of Menteith*, the Earl is said to have granted by this charter "half of the lands of Gardenycht or Auchmore," and by another charter, in 1534, to have confirmed this infeftment, "together with a lease of the other half for a period of nineteen years." In Sir W. Fraser's notice of the Menteith charters in his report to the Historical MSS. Commission, the charter of 1510 is said to refer to "half of his lands of Gardrany *alias* Auchmore." Here, no doubt, we have the reason for Mr Easton's view that these two places are identical, and it is necessary to inquire as to its foundation. Experience has taught me caution in accepting statements made by Sir W. Fraser upon no authority but his own, and the careless and incorrect way in which he transcribes the charter of erection of the Graham earldom of Menteith (*Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 293) is not calculated to inspire confidence in his knowledge of the local topography. This charter will be found more correctly printed in the evidence in connection with the claim of Robert Barclay Allardice to be Earl of Airth, 1841, and in the appendix to Sir Harris Nicolas' *History of the Earldoms of Strathern, Menteith, and Airth*. Moreover, at p. 279 of the Menteith Book, Sir W. Fraser not only prints "Lochtoun" for "Lochcon," but identifies it as Loch Achray, in which blunder he is carefully followed by Mr Easton in the contribution to *The Genealogical Magazine* to which he refers the readers of *The Scottish Antiquary*. Fraser also, in the index to his work, confounds Auchmore or Auchmar, in the parish of Port, with Auchmar in Buchanan parish. In these circumstances, I have little difficulty in suggesting that if Sir W. Fraser, in his reference to the charter of 1510, did not consider "Gardenycht" an old name for "Auchmore"—which seems to be his meaning—then he should have written "and" for "or," the result of which would have been to make the necessary separation between the two places. This latter view is confirmed by his reference to the same lands at p. 334 of the *Red Book*, where he mentions

a resignation of "the half lands of Garthreny, the lands of Auchmore, Inchie, Gartlonabeg, and Gartlonamore." Here it is clear that Auchmore is not an *alias* of Garthreny or Gartrenich, but a separate holding—a holding, as the maps show, not less than three-quarters of a mile distant from Gartrenich. If additional proof were needed that these were names of different places, it is supplied by the three deeds connected with the conveyance of the Menteith properties to the Marquis of Montrose in 1680, which are printed in the Evidence of 1841 (pp. 21, 23, 27). In all three Gartrenich and Auchmore are mentioned separately, without "or" or "*alias*," and not even consecutively, Arnachly coming in between them. The terms of the charter under the Great Seal are unmistakable:—"terrarium de Easter, Wester et Nather Schennochillis, terrarium de Gartrenich, terrarium de Arneachlie, Auchmore," &c. Mr Easton says that "Gartrenich, *alias* Auchmore, became divided, the south portion being called exclusively by the former name, the north part by the latter." The division, however, was not into north and south parts, but east and west, as is shown by Stobie's Survey; and the idea that Auchmore could be the north half of a holding separated from it by a moss and a loch, must be dismissed as very improbable, if not actually absurd. At the present moment Auchmore is let by the Duke of Montrose, not as part of Gartrenich, to which it was never attached, but as a part of the adjoining farm of Malling, the ancient Ernetly being in like manner thrown into Nether Shannochill, which is contiguous, and lies between Auchmore and Gartrenich.

- 2.—*Disproof of the proposition that Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane, a son of the third Earl of Menteith, was the Gilbert Graham who resigned the lands of Gartrenich to the fifth Earl in 1576.*

Sir W. Fraser's statement (*Red Book*, i. 326) is that "by a renunciation of one Gilbert Graham, not *designated*, the earl obtained possession in 1576 of the land of Gartrenich." Without any authority whatever, Mr Easton has not only no difficulty in giving this Gilbert Graham a designation, but he is able to assign a reason for the resignation

which certainly does not appear in the deed itself, or at least is not mentioned by the author of the Menteith Book. To all appearance the lands were surrendered unreservedly to the earl—it was not a mere resignation, but a renunciation: but Mr Easton says “No; they were resigned by Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane ostensibly for the purpose of a re-grant in favour of his son Gilbert” (*Genealogical Magazine*, vol. i. p. 69). Thus, at one stroke, the undesigned Gilbert Graham, who surrendered the lands of Gartrenich in 1576, is provided not only with a designation, but with a younger son called after himself, and a very good reason for resigning part of his lands, all without a single iota of evidence that any of these three things is true! Mr Easton explains in the article cited how he was “struck immediately” by this, and how he at once discovered that; but in attempting to establish a pedigree these sudden motions are to be distrusted. There is one reason why it could not have been Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane who resigned the lands of Gartrenich in 1576, and that is, that he died on the 24th April, 1573.\* Sir W. Fraser is nearer the mark than usual when he accounts for Gilbert not claiming the lands of Gartmore on the death of his brother Robert without issue, by supposing that he may have predeceased him. This did not happen, but he only survived his brother a few months, and he may have been so ill as to consider it not worth his while to enter to his son’s inheritance. Nor will it help Mr Easton to suppose that it may have been this Gilbert’s son Gilbert who resigned Gartrenich, because in 1576 Gilbert’s eldest son and heir was a minor; and, for a reason to be afterwards given, if there was a son Gilbert, he could not have been fourteen years of age in the above-mentioned year. That he could resign any land without the consent of a tutor or curators, is, of course, out of the question, and there is apparently no mention of any such person in the deed of renunciation.

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\* The authority for this and every other statement of fact contained in the present article will be given in a work in preparation by the writer, where also Mr Easton will find the new proofs he desiderates supporting the old Graham pedigrees—Gartmore and Gartur—which he fondly imagines he has destroyed.

3.—*Disproof of the proposition that Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane had a daughter named Agnes, who was married to Jasper Graham of Blaircessnoch.*

Mr Easton having discovered that Gilbert Graham in Rednoch was brother-in-law to Jasper Graham of Blaircessnoch, assumes that Jasper's wife was not only a sister of Gilbert's, but also a daughter of the Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane to whom he attaches the first-named Gilbert as second son. In point of fact, she was neither. The Leitchtown pedigree as given in Burke's *Family Records* makes Marion (an undoubted daughter of Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane) the wife of Jasper, but after compiling this pedigree its author seems to have discovered that Jasper's wife was called Agnes, and that Marion Graham married Alexander Alexander of Menstrie, father of the first Earl of Stirling. The necessary change is accordingly made in the pedigree contributed to the *Genealogical Magazine* (vol. i. p. 77), and Agnes is there said to be a sister of Marion's, but without any proof. In *The Scottish Antiquary* Marion is omitted from the pedigree, Agnes appearing as Gilbert Graham's only daughter. A comparison of dates would have kept Mr Easton right so far. Marion Graham's eldest son, Sir W. Alexander, was born about 1568, and married about 1600; Agnes Graham's eldest son was a minor in 1618, when his father was killed. It is therefore scarcely possible that Marion and Agnes could have been sisters. Their actual relation was that of aunt and niece, Agnes Graham being the daughter of William Graham of Gartmore, eldest son and heir of Gilbert of Gartavertane. This fact sweeps away the collateral evidence upon which Mr Easton relies as part of his proof. He forgets that there is more than one way of being a brother-in-law, and, if he had known the name of the wife of Gilbert Graham in Rednoch, it would probably have occurred to him that the relationship with Jasper Graham of Blaircessnoch arose in some other way. Gilbert may have married a sister of Jasper's, or both may have married sisters, and as it is clear Gilbert could not have married his own sister, either hypothesis would, if proved, be fatal to Mr Easton's theory,

which is, however, sufficiently disproved by the facts that Agnes Graham was not the daughter of Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane, and had no brother named Gilbert, as far as has been ascertained.

4.—*Disproof of the proposition that Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane had a younger son named Gilbert Graham designed 'in Rednoch,' which Gilbert was grandfather of Gilbert Graham of Leitchtown, elder of Port in 1688.*

This is the vital part of Mr Easton's pedigree table, all the other propositions above discussed being made to give it an appearance of probability. We have shown that these have in reality no foundation, and, setting them aside, we are left with the bare assertion that Gilbert Graham in Rednoch was the second son of Gilbert of Gartavertane. Now, it is true that this latter Gilbert had more sons than William his heir, although they are unknown to Mr Easton. Their names were James and John, and both reached manhood, although they seem to have died unmarried, or at least without leaving issue. No trace has been discovered of any other son. If there was a son Gilbert he must have been younger than those named, and it is very unlikely he ever existed, seeing the consequence that attached to the discovery of such a person when the last Earl of Menteith died in 1694. The possession in 1624 of half of the lands of Gartrenich and other parts of the earldom by Gilbert Graham in Rednoch is no proof of his descent from the Gilbert Graham who died in 1573. Between these dates much of the lands had been alienated, and Gilbert's possession in 1624 must have been little more than nominal—probably the lands were held as security for a bond—because he left his widow in so poor circumstances that a cautioner of hers, her nephew, had to go to prison until her debt—a loan of money—and interest had been paid. There is, in addition, a circumstance which almost conclusively negatives the alleged connection between the two Gilberts. In 1628, when Gilbert Graham of Gartmore, great-grandson of Gilbert of Gartavertane, required curators, neither of the two sons of Gilbert Graham in Rednoch, although both were of the

necessary age, were called in the edict of curatory as nearest of kin on the father's side. Those summoned in this capacity were John Graham of Blairnessnoch, Gilbert's cousin, and William Graham of Bowton, whose relationship is not very clear. The fact that the curators called or appointed—Thomas Graham of Duchray was one of them—were so distant relatives of Gilbert, leads to the conclusion that by this time every male descendant of Gilbert of Gartavertane, the common ancestor, had died out, with the single exception of Gilbert himself. With his death, in 1632, the male representation of the family appears to have been extinguished.

It is not, I conceive, incumbent upon a critic who disproves one pedigree, to substitute or suggest another to take its place; but to one who has looked into this matter somewhat closely, the question occurs why Mr Easton, who, at an early period of his investigations, showed a desire to connect Gilbert Graham in Rednoch, the indubitable ancestor of the Grahams of Leitchtown, with some Patrick Graham, should have overlooked the most obvious of all the Patricks—namely, Patrick Graham in Rednoch. In a charter granted by Alexander Hume of Argatie to his future wife, in 1558, of the £10 lands of Reidnoch, Patrick Graham is mentioned as tenant along with two others (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1566-1580, No. 1322), and it is natural to suppose that Gilbert Graham in Rednoch\* was a descendant of this Patrick, if there is no evidence to the contrary. From a dispute between Gilbert's widow and the widow of his elder son, it appears that a part of Rednoch had been set to Gilbert by Harry Hume

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\*In an article published in *The Genealogical Magazine* for March 1899, Mr Easton says, quite correctly, that the words 'of' and 'in' (he might have added 'at') in old deeds were elastically used, and he maintains that if Gilbert was merely 'in' Rednoch, he was at least 'of' Grahamstown and Rednoch. Here, however, Mr Easton is mistaken. Gilbert never possessed Grahamstown. About two years after his death, his eldest son David was infeft in Ballivorad of Rednoch, and, having probably built a house upon it, as Burke and Mr Easton agree in saying he did, he changed its name to Grahamstown. For some time prior to 6th March 1651, 'Gramestoun' was the property of John Graham of Duchray, who on that day sold it to James Graham of Calziemuck for 2000 merks, under reversion on payment of the said sum, but the property was not redeemed.

of Argatie, with consent of Patrick Hume, his father, a circumstance which seems to point to a succession from Patrick Graham to Gilbert. Who this Patrick Graham in Rednoch was does not appear. He may have belonged to the Grahams of Rednoch, whom Mr Easton mixes up, in the pedigree published in *The Genealogical Magazine*, with the descendants of George Graham, tutor of Menteith, but who were a distinct and rather disreputable family, or he may have been connected with the Montrose branch of the clan Graham, for Rednoch was not a part of the Graham earldom of Menteith. Mr Easton does not presume any one is going to question the propinquity of Gilbert Graham in Rednoch with the earls of Menteith, but this is just the point at issue, and certainly no evidence of such propinquity has yet been produced. The tradition in the Menteith district is that, of all possible claimants to the title of Earl of Menteith, the Grahams of Leitchtown have the least right, the belief being that they are not Menteith Grahams; but to a tradition of this kind no importance can be attached unless it be supported by substantial evidence. If Mr Easton could find a Menteith ancestry for Patrick Graham in Rednoch, he might lay some foundation for a claim to the earldom by the male representative of the Grahams of Leitchtown, but I am afraid the assiduity he has displayed in tacking this family on to Gilbert Graham of Gartavertane has been labour lost. His ingenious manipulation of the materials he has so dilligently collected deserved, from one point of view, a better fate.

W. B. C.

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THE AUTHOR OF THE "WOODS O'  
DUNMORE."

---

It is sometimes said of popular songs that they have sprung out of the hearts of the people. All that this usually means is that they have been written by some nameless singer whose memory has perished. But the saying is true to the extent that it is the heart of the people that has caught up the song and given to it its life, its immortality.

Such a popular song is the "Woods o' Dunmore." Written some sixty years ago, it from the first moment of its publication found its way to the people's heart. There was something so inexpressibly sweet in its tender pathos:—

"This fond heart is thine, lassie charming and fair,  
This fond heart is thine, lassie dear,  
Nae world's gear hae I, nae oxen or kye,  
I hae naething, dear lassie, but a puir heart to gie.  
Then dinna say me na,  
But come, come awa',  
And wander, dear lassie,  
'Mang the woods o' Dunmore."

Or take this other verse:—

"O sweet is thy voice, lassie charming and fair,  
Enchanting thy smile, lassie dear,  
I'll toil aye for thee; for ae blink o' thine e's  
Is pleasure mair sweet than siller to me.  
Then dinna say me na,  
But come, come awa',  
And wander, dear lassie,  
'Mang the woods o' Dunmore."

This is certainly one of the songs which the Scottish people will not willingly let die. Now that the generation which knew the author is fast dropping into its grave, it seems fitting that we should gather together all that is known about this sweet singer, who sang one song that has endeared itself to the Scottish heart.

William Murdoch was a "Son of the Rock," born under the shadow of the ancient Castle of Stirling. His father, John Murdoch, was a master baker in the historic town, and he himself, born 17th April, 1814, was the second son in a numerous family of brothers and sisters. After serving an apprenticeship with William Kirkwood, a chemist and druggist in Stirling, he in 1836 began a business of the same kind in the neighbouring town of Falkirk. It was here in 1838 that the song was written. The woods of Dunmore were in near distance within the bounds of the parish of Airth. They were doubtless an attraction, at least poetically, to the young men and maidens of the district. These were the years of young Murdoch's Romance, and at least one other song was written to which we shall allude by and by. But the years of romance were short, and flew quickly past. In 1838 his father died in Stirling, and in 1841 William Murdoch left Falkirk for

Glasgow to become manager of the Apothecary Company's branch business in St. Vincent Street. The business in Falkirk was, however, still continued, and was carried on till very recently, for over 50 years, by a younger brother. Murdoch remained in Glasgow till 1857, when, having speculated somewhat wildly and become involved in money troubles, he removed to Hamburg, where he remained until his death on 27th June, 1875. He lies buried amongst his kin in the beautiful cemetery of Stirling, not far from the place of his birth. He was survived by his widowed mother, who died on the 12th October, 1880, in the 91st year of her age. Curiously enough Murdoch himself, in spite of his pathetic love songs, died a bachelor. The present writer visited him in Hamburg in 1873, and he then spoke freely of the past. He spoke of another song that he had written entitled "An old Bachelor over the Sea," which he said was for a time popular in Glasgow, but of this we have been able to find no trace. Quite recently we called on his younger brother David, who succeeded him in Falkirk, and is now resident in Edinburgh. William, in removing to Glasgow, left behind him a great number of his books, to which David fell heir. Amongst them was one of those Drawing-Room Albums, or Elegant Library Miscellanies, popular at the time, and dedicated to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, the mother of the Queen. It was interleaved, and on turning over its pages the author was delighted to find on one of the blank leaves a copy of the "Woods o' Dunmore" in the handwriting of the author, and dated 1838. On the opposite page, also on manuscript, was the original music to which the song was set, and to which it has since been sung. It was the composition of a Mr Jaap from Edinburgh, who acted as precentor to the General Assembly during its sittings, and who was in the habit of visiting Falkirk as a teacher of music. It was in this way that the music and the words became wedded. Nor did our discoveries end there. In the same volume we found the words (without music) of another song, also in the author's handwriting, and dated October, 1839, which has never hitherto been published. It is entitled "Mary's Lament," and will be found to possess much of

the sweetness and the plaintiveness of the "Woods o' Dunmore." Let our readers judge:—

MARY'S LAMENT

"This fond heart is breaking, I fear,  
This poor head is aching wi' care;  
See lanely I stray the weary lang day,  
For Johnie is a' the wide world to me.

But he's gaen awa  
Frae fond love and me  
And left his ain lassie  
Broken-hearted to dee.

"His fond love is changed, I fear,  
To leave me to sorrow an' care,  
Tho' often the time, wi' hand locked in mine,  
He has promised to lo'e nae ither but me.

But he's gaen awa  
Frae fond love and me,  
And left his ain lassie  
Broken-hearted to dee.

"Nae mair I'll meet Johnie, I fear,  
This puir frame is wasted wi' care;  
Yet tho' alighted an' wae, my blessing he'll hae,  
He'll grieve for his Mary when lowly she's laid.

But he's gaen awa  
Frae fond love and me,  
And left his ain lassie  
Broken-hearted to dee."

It is to be hoped that ere long this song will be set to fitting music. Meanwhile we have the satisfaction of recording all that is known of the author of it, and of that more famous song which is amongst those of which Scotland is justly proud.

GEO. D. MACNAUGHTAN.

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LOCAL RECORDS.

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We are indebted to the Misses Cherry, Craigs, for the following interesting documents relating to the regulation of the local Flesh Market in 1714, and the repair of the West Church, Stirling, in 1796:—

Stirling, 18th December, 1714 years.

The which day the Magistrates and Town Council of the Burgh of Stirling, being convened, they appoint the yearly Proclamations of the weekly mercates of this burgh to be recorded in the Council Book thereof, and which are as follows, vizt.:

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*Proclamation of the Flesh Markett.*

Wee command and charge, in our So. Lo. name and authy., and in name and behalf of the Provost and Bailies of this Burgh, that no flesher neither to Burgh nor land haunting this mercate, presume or take upon hand, from this time forth, to present or sell any blown flesh, either mutton or vaill, either in open mercate or in boothies, under the pain of confiscation thereof, and putting the same to the Cross, and distributing it to the poor, and that no wind be found in any of their hearts, either by blowing or any other kind of injine or instrument, under the pain foresaid.

Item—That no flesh be put to the mercate wanting the hyde, skin, or head, feet and tallow, under the pain of five pound ilk failzie unforgiven.

Item—That no outland nor unfreeman presume nor take upon hand to buy any hydes in this Burgh on the Thursdays at eiven, or on the mercate day, being Fryday, till two hours in the afternoon, nor yet any fleshers nor others, sell or put the the same to be sold in the mercate boothies or houses till the said hour, under the pain of five pounds, ilk person failzing; and that no town's fleshers shall make, bargain for, or sell any hydes to unfreemen or others before the beast be killed, nor yet that they presume to buy any hides from unfreemen nor yet receive the same from them to be sold to others, under the pain of ten pounds Scots toties quoties.

Item—That no flesh be spoiled nor slotted on the Craig nor no other part, nor collops taken of it under the pain foresaid.

Item—That no fleshers take any tan leathers of their hides, nor make slitts nor holes in the skinn or hide, when they take of the same, ilk tan leather under the pain of fourty shilling, and ilk slitt or hole under the pain of fourty shilling unforgiven.

Item—That no landward flesher in time coming bring into the mercate to be sold any kine above the age of four years to be sold for hudderon, and that all such kine, hudderens and calfercalls brought in to be sold have their heads and skinnes brought in with them uncut of till they reach the mercate place, and that no ewe be brought

in to be sold by landward fleshers, or killed by the town's fleshers, from the first of January to Whitsunday yearly, and that none of them kill or sell any bull or toop from Michaelmass to Lambass yearly, ilk person contravening under the pain of five pounds and confiscation of the said beasts.

Item—That no landward flesher take the skinn of the kidds brought by them to the mercate and sell them for lambs, nor cutt their sheep in the shoulders, taill, nor heads, but score them as the town's fleshers do.

Item—That no landward flesher take their flesh of the mercate place to be sold in any other place of the town.

Item—That no flesher nor other neighbours in the Backrow toom their draughts or sharn in any part of the Backrow, either on the streets or house sides, from this furth, nor yet in any closs or passages in the Backrow or other places of the town except the back sides, and that every neighbour in the Backrow remove their middens off the mercate place, streets, and doors, and keep the same clean of all filth and fulzie in time coming, ilk person contravening under the pain of five pounds unforgiven, and warding of their persons during the Magistrates' will.

Extracted furth of the Councill Records of the said Burgh upon this and the preceding page by me,  
Jo: M<sup>c</sup>GIBBON, Cl.

At Stirling, the thirtieth day of November,  
Jaivijc and ninety six years.

Convened the following delegates from the different communities and Kirk Session of this place for the purpose of obtaining the West church repaired, and a third minister called to officiate therein, vizt. :—

From the Guildry—Provost Alexander, Baillie Jaffray, Mr. Alexr. Smith, Robert Banks, jr. From the Trades—Deacon Thomas Stewart, hammermen; William Jaffray, weavers; James White, shoemakers; Deacon William Graham, taylor; Deacon William Bowie, butchers; Deacon William Murdoch, bakers. Tollerated Societies—From the maltmen, James Smith; barbers, John Fraser; omnigathrum, Walter Blair. Kirk Session—Provost Jaffray, Convener Hutton.

Alexander Jaffray, Esqr., unanimously chosen Preses. The meeting having considered the Act of Town Council of date the 2d Novr. currt., served by the Presbytery of that date on the different communities and Kirk Session, in order that they might give in answers to the same, they entirely disapproved of the said Act, being convinced that the plan thereby proposed would by no means afford any remedy for the evils complained of, and a scroll of answers to the said Act having been produced, the meeting approve thereof and appoint a copy of the same to be signed by the Preses and givin in at next diet of Presbytery.

They further appoint the Preses, Provosts Jaffray and Alexander, Messrs Alexr. and James Smith's, or any others that choose to attend thereat, a committee to enquire at the different communities and individual proprietors of Seats in the East Church, whether or not they are disposed to fall in with the proposed plan of the Town Council, and to procure from such as disapprove of said plan, and are not to fall in therewith, a written declaration of their sentiments to that effect, so as the same may be laid before the next diet of Presbytery, alongst with the foresaid answers to the Act of the Town council.

They are also of opinion that some of those persons who attend Public Worship in the East Church in seats where they can only be said to attend without hearing distinctly, should be brought forward at the next meeting of Presbytery in order to establish that radical defect in the present place of Public Worship.

The meeting are further of opinion that Mr John Wilson, architeck, should be employed to make out a report on the present state of the East Church, the possibility of enlarging it if practicable, and to what extent, so as all the sitters might hear distinctly, and to point out the defects which may appear in Mr Chalmers's plan with regard to the impossibility of hearing or otherwys, so as the said report may also be laid before the said meeting of Presbytery, and recommend to the foresaid committee to employ Mr Wilson for that purpose.

The meeting having also considered that it was suggested by some of the members of Presbytery at their last meeting that it would be proper a

decree was obtained from the Lords of Erection and Plantation of Kirks erecting the said West Church into a legal benefice in consequence of the subsisting agreement betwixt the Town Council and Communities to that effect, are of opinion that an action to that effect should be immediately commenced, and in order for defraying the expense that must necessarily be incurred in concluding the whole business, they agree that the different delegates shall request a meeting of their respective communities, and learn from them what sum they are respectively willing to advance from their corporation funds for such purpose, one-half whereof to be immediately paid into Mr Alex. Smith, merchant in Stirling, as treasurer for the whole concerned, and the other half when found necessary and required by the committee of management, providing always that in case the first half shall not be wholly expended, each community shall draw back from the said Treasurer their proportional part of the surplus, and that in like manner a private subscription shall be opened under the same conditions for individuals who may incline coming forward with their personal contributions in support of so good a cause, and the meeting appoint Mr Smith to lodge the money he shall receive as Treasurer foresaid in the Bank of Scotland office at Stirling at such rate of interest as can be procured therefore, to be drawn out and disbursed by him as occasion shall require, and in regard Mr Robert Jameson, Writer to the Signet, has already been employed in procuring the opinion of council in this business, the meeting are of opinion he should be continued agent for conducting the action before the Lords of erection, and remit to the former committee to conduct the private subscriptions, and to correspond, thro' Robert Banks, writer in Stirling, the agent before the Presbytery, with Mr Jameson anent the action of Erection. Lastly, the meeting appoint their Preses. to sign this minute in their name, and that an Extract or copy hereof be furnished by the foresaid Robert Banks to each Delegate, to be by him laid before his respective community, and request each Delegate to report the opinion and subscription of his constituency to a meeting to be called by the Preses.

**R. O. BANKS.**

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**ALEXANDER HUME, OF LOGIE.\***

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The substance of this volume was contained in two lectures delivered by the author to the Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society last session, but the work loses nothing in interest on this account. Here we find in its proper setting what was there given in a series of extracts, Mr Fergusson's book forming a compact, harmonious whole of a very pleasing character. The author could scarcely have found a better subject for his practised pen than the life and times of one of his own predecessors, and it is fortunate for the reader that the minister of Logie, himself a poet, has bethought him of Alexander Hume, whose musings in the sequestered manse of Logie have evidently a great charm for his successor and biographer.

In his first chapter, which is of an introductory nature, Mr Fergusson briefly sketches the history of his parish, the earliest notice of which occurs in an account of "The Seven Provinces of Alban," written in 1165 by Andrew, Bishop of Caithness. The Church of Logie is first mentioned in a charter of Simeon, Bishop of Dunblane, dated about 1178. It may be noted that one of the early documents relating to Logie, dated seventy-seven years before the battle of Stirling Bridge, goes to prove that the situation of the bridge at that time was not at Kildean, but near the present Old Bridge. Mr Fergusson renders a useful service in reprinting from one of the Maitland Club books the Royal Commissioners' report on the Kirk and Parish of Logie in 1627. The author's notes referring to the places named in that report are specially valuable, and show considerable research. The Freirkers, "ane littill roun quhilk belongit of old to the frieris at Stirling," lay below the Hospital (which belonged to the Order of Knight Templars, and later to the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem), where now stands the farmhouse of Spittal. The Black Friars, or Preaching Friars, had another piece of land, but much smaller, which was situated within the burgh of Stirling, and was also called "ye Frierkerse." One of Mr Fergusson's notes

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\* **ALEXANDER HUME: An Early Post-Pastor of Logie and his Intimates.** By R. Menzies-Fergusson, M.A., Minister of Logie. Paisley: Alexander Gardner.

mentions two ministers of Logie whom we are able to attach to local families. Mr Henry Schaw, M.A., belonged to the Schaws of Knockhill, Lecropt, cadets of Schaw of Sauchie, and Mr James Seytoun was the illegitimate son of Mr Robert Seytoun, vicar of Logy, previously noticed by Mr Fergusson. Although a son of Sir Walter Seton of Touch and Tullibody, this Mr Robert was so straitened in his means by the hardness of the times for ecclesiastics after the Reformation, that he had to dispose of the manse of Logie in feuferm, in order to maintain and educate himself. He reserved, however, a single bedroom or chamber for himself and his brothers german. No doubt the manse was redeemed from Edmonstone of Spittalton, or his descendants, before Alexander Hume's time.

The poet-pastor was the second son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, who was tacksman of the teinds of Logie, and the parishioners, thinking their call to the young man in 1597 a good opportunity of getting an augmentation of stipend, sent a Commissioner to the Laird, desiring him to make the same sufficient for an honest man, seeing he had the teind sheaves for a small duty, but Sir Patrick was "dreich to draw," and recourse was had to the good services of his brother, the Provost of Edinburgh, with what result is not stated, but the Laird is afterwards found allowing something extra for the communion wine. Happily settled in Logie, Alexander Hume found in the natural beauties of his parish fitting themes for his poetical gift, and Mr Fergusson gives us a delightful picture of the poet-pastor, communing with Nature and with Nature's God. One of his finest efforts, "The Day Estival," i.e., the Summer Day, is printed in full, and most readers will agree with Mr Fergusson's opinion that there is genuine simplicity and pathos in his description of the long summer day, which charms the ear, and illustrates some of the pleasantest qualities of the old pastorals. The poem opens thus:—

"O perfit light! whilk schew'd awa  
The darkness from the light,  
And set a ruler oure the day,  
And othere oure the night.

Thy glory, when the day forth flies,  
More vively does appear,  
Nor at mid-day, unto our eyes,  
The shining Sun is clear.

The shadow of the earth anon,  
Removes and draws by ;  
Sine in the East, when it is gone,  
Appears a clearer sky.

Whilk soon perceives the little larks,  
The lapwing, and the myp,  
And tunes their sangs like nature's clarks,  
Oure meadow, muir, and stryp.

But every bair'd nocturnall beast  
Nae langer may abide ;  
They hie away, baith maist and least,  
Themselves in house to hide.

They dread the day, frae they it see,  
And from the sight of men ;  
To seats and covers fast they flee,  
As lions to their den."

But there are better verses than any of these further on, as for instance the following :—

"The rivers fresh, the caller streams,  
Oure rocks can safely rin ;  
The water clear like crystal seems,  
And makes a pleasant din.

What pleasure were to walk and see,  
Endling a river clear,  
The perfect form of every tree  
Within the deep appear !"

We may also quote "A Sonnet of Love," which, as Mr Fergusson rightly considers, sufficiently disproves the late George Gilfillan's absurd remark that Hume, after being settled in the parish of Logie, "darkened into a sour and savage Calvinist."

"Not lawfull love, but lecherie I lacke ;  
Not women wise, but witlesse I diadaine ;  
Not constant trueth, but tromperie I detract ;  
Not innocence, but insolence prophaine ;  
Not blessed bands, but secrete working vaine ;  
As Pyramus and Thisbe tulke on hand,  
As Jason and Medea made their traine,  
As Doemophon and foolish Phillis fand,  
As Hercules at Iolus command,  
Which like a wife for love sat downe to spin,  
And finally all follie I gainstand,  
Which may allure the heart to shame or sin :  
Beware with vice, be not the cause of ill,  
Sine speak and sport, look, laugh, and love your fill."

Hume's home life, admirably sketched by his biographer, likewise testifies to his enjoyment of music—he was himself a player on what he calls the "joli lute"—and of congenial society. while at the same time, as a minister of the Reformed Church, he was faithful and conscientious. Living

at a period when there was a constant effort on the part of the King to impose Episcopacy upon Scotland, Hume was bold in defence of true Presbyterianism, his last work, "Ane Afold Admonitioun to the Ministrie of Scotland, by a Deing Brother," being an outspoken condemnation of King James' policy, and an appeal to the tulchan Bishops to forsake the evil course whereon they had entered. He died in December, 1609, the same year in which his Admonition was published. He was survived by his wife, Marion Duncanson, and left a family of one son and two daughters. His widew was the daughter of Mr John Duncanson, Dean of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, and also parish minister of Stirling. We confess we do not understand why Mr Fergusson ignores this latter fact. Does he still doubt that Mr John Duncanson was the first minister of Stirling after the Reformation, or is it his belief that this was a different person from the father of Alexander Hume's wife? We are aware that the late Rev. George Cupples, in his Statistical Account of the Parish, says that while Duncanson may have discharged the duties of parochial minister, he does not appear to have held the office. But Mr Cupples' knowledge of the ministers of Stirling was very limited, his list being both incomplete and incorrect. Dr. Hew Scott, the author of the "Fasti," was much better informed, and he states distinctly that John Duncanson was the first minister of Stirling, and resigned the parochial charge in 1571. If Mr Fergusson had consulted the published Records of Stirling upon this point as carefully as he has done with regard to some others, he would have found that on 31st October, 1560—immediately after the Reformation—the Provost, Bailies, and Council assigned a lodging to "John Duncansone, mynister," and in July, 1562, they bound themselves to see his yearly stipend paid, "conform to the ordour tane and to be tane." We have also a note of John Duncanson as one of the witnesses to the intimation to the parishoners of Logie in 1562 that Robert Seyton was undoubted prebender of Logie, and another that in 1582 John Duncanson, minister—this seems to have continued to have been his designation although he had resigned his office—witnessed the sasine of the Commendator of

Cambuskenneth in a tenement in Stirling. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that John Duncanson, minister of Stirling, was identical with the minister of the King's House, or Dean of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, who was Alexander Hume's father-in-law.

The life of Alexander Hume occupies scarcely the half of Mr Fergusson's volume. In the succeeding chapters we have excellent biographies of Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling, and John Scherar, Provost of Stirling, two of Hume's intimate friends. The late Dr Charles Rogers' "House of Alexander" seems to have furnished Mr Fergusson with part of his genealogical information, but it is not always safe to take the rev. Doctor's statements on trust. The note to p. 112, for example, contains a number of serious errors. Sir William Alexander's mother is said to have been Marion, daughter of Allan Couttie. This is taken from p. 29 of Dr Rogers' book, but if Mr Fergusson had read the inventory of the estate of Alexander Alexander of Menstrie (Sir William's father), printed in the same volume on four of the preceding pages, he would have found that Alexander Alexander's wife was Marion Graham, and that William Graham of Gartavertane was his brother-in-law. Allan Couttie, or Cutie, was Alexander Alexander's "guideschyre," or grandfather, not his father-in-law, as Dr Rogers erroneously supposed the old Scottish word to mean. The statement in the same note that Janet Alexander, Sir William's sister, married Walter Cowane, merchant-burgess of Stirling, is also unfounded. Walter's wife was certainly a Janet Alexander, but she was probably a daughter of Robert Alexander, a Stirling merchant, and sister of Isabel Alexander, wife of Andrew Cowane, and mother of the founder of Cowane's Hospital. Mr Fergusson himself, although he repeats on p. 186 Dr Rogers' assertion that Walter Cowane was married to Janet Alexander of Menstrie, a sister of Sir W. Alexander, disproves the statement in a note to the same page, in which he mentions that David Forrester, the Laird of Logie, was married to Janet, third daughter of Alexander Alexander of Menstrie. Janet could scarcely have been the wife of two men at the same time. The next sentence in the note to p. 112, although consisting

of only three lines, contains more than that number of blunders. It is as follows—"Their son [*i.e.*, Walter Cowane and Janet Alexander's] Andro Allan, was baptised on 8th October, 1590, and their son Antonie was baptised on 20th September, 1591." It would have been a little surprising if this couple had a son named Andro Allan, as double Christian names were very uncommon at that time, but if we read "Cowan" for "Allan," the mistake made is at once apparent. Nor had the same couple a son named Antonie. Their son Andro seems to have died in infancy, and they called their next son Andro also, and he was baptised by that name, not on the 20th, but on the 28th September. One of the witnesses to the baptism was Antonie Bruce, bailie, and the careless transcriber from the register of baptisms has given the Bailie's name to the child! A further error in the same note is calling the wife of Walter Neische of Dubbiehead Christian, her proper name being Elizabeth. Again, in a note to p. 121, it is set forth that "on the 6th June, 1609, a royal charter passed under the great seal comprising a charter of alienation and vendition from the Earl of Argyle, whereby Sir William Erskine obtained the lands and barony of Menstrie in liferent, and Sir William Alexander and his spouse, Lady Janet Erskine, the lands in conjunct fee. The conditions of the charter remained unfulfilled, and nineteen years afterwards we find Sir William Alexander consenting to a royal charter, whereby he received the lands and barony of Menstrie from the Earl of Argyle on an annual payment of 80 lib. Scots." Now, the charter of 1609 bears that it was merely the feufermes and dues of the lands and barony of Menstrie, not the lands themselves, that were sold at that date, and, therefore, there was no non-fulfilment of the conditions of the charter. The barony and lands did not become the property of Sir William Alexander until they were conveyed to him and his wife by the charter of 8th and 10th July, 1628. All these misstatements come from accepting the Rev. Dr Rogers as an authority. We observe, by the way, that Mr Fergusson invariably spells "Rogers" without the final "s," thereby reverting to the rev. Doctor's real name under which his earlier works were published. Why he assumed the "s" about the

time he came to Stirling has not, we think, been satisfactorily explained.

There are several biographies of Sir William Alexander in existence, and Mr Fergusson adds nothing to what was previously known of the courtly poet and psalm-writer to the British Solomon. He gives, however, an unbiassed and, we are pleased to notice, a rather kindly account of the famous Laird of Menstrie, who was probably a good deal better than the political opponents who brought about his downfall and disgrace. Our local records show that while he lost no opportunity of advancing the interests of his family and connections, he was a good friend to the burgh. His beautiful mansion-house in Castle Wynd, now the Military Hospital, bears the date 1632 above the front door, but Mr Fergusson tells us (again on Dr. Rogers' authority) it was not occupied by its owner till two years later. In 1630 Sir William had been created Lord Tullibody, and Viscount Stirling, and in 1633 he got a step higher by the erection of the earldom of Stirling in his favour. But in a very few years his glory had departed. Financial loss, domestic bereavement, unpopularity, loss of the royal favour for which he had sacrificed much—all these misfortunes came upon his devoted head about the same time, and in the early part of 1640 he gave up the struggle. Sir James Balfour, the annalist, relates that "his body was embalmed, and by sea transported to Stirling, and there privately interred by night in Bowie's Aisle, in Stirling Church." But it is curious to notice that Balfour says almost exactly the same thing about the interment of Sir Anthony Alexander, the Earl's second son, and architect of his house in Stirling, three years previously. The only difference is that Sir Anthony's burial is said to have taken place by torchlight, which we should say was probably also the case in regard to the funeral of the Earl. What are we to understand by the annalist's repetition of the story? If he means to insinuate that the Earl's interment was private in consequence of his unpopularity—and this is the inference generally drawn from his tale—are we to believe that the Jenny Geddes incident in St Giles' rendered it advisable that privacy should be

observed in respect to the burial of Sir Anthony in 1637? We are inclined to set down this twice-told story of privacy and concealment to idle gossip, which the annalist was rather fond of repeating. Bowie's Aisle had been purchased by the Earl of Stirling for the express purpose of a family vault, and what could be more natural than his own and his sons' interment there? His wife's father and mother, as well as two of his sons, had already been laid in this aisle, and even if a burial-place had been offered for the Earl's remains in the poets' corner of Westminster Abbey—perhaps it was for all we know—the honour would probably have been refused, so great was the Earl's affection for his own family, for the district which gave him birth, and for the town whose name he chose for his highest title. Political animosity has done much to obscure the name and fame of the first Earl of Stirling, and we are thankful that his latest biographer has to a certain extent risen above the cloud of prejudice which has so long rested upon the memory of one of Scotland's most gifted sons.

The two chapters Mr Fergusson devotes to Provost John Scherar, the other intimate of Alexander Hume, are extremely interesting, not so much for what they contain about the worthy Provost, as for the local life they portray during the period in which he flourished. Municipal, ecclesiastical, and social details have been carefully gathered from authentic records, and from these we get a good idea of life in Stirling in the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Within a few yards of each other, on the south side of the old Parish Church of Stirling, the two friends of the poet-pastor of Logie—the peer and the provost—sleep their long sleep, and their memory should be cherished by the town they both loved and served so well. In a letter written to his friend, Drummond of Hawthornden, the Earl of Stirling once remarked that he was assured that thankful posterity would after death render to every man his due. But, alas, how true it is!—

"The evil that men do lives after them,  
The good is oft interred with their bones."

To many readers to whom Alexander Hume and his friends are mere names, Mr Fergusson's con-

cluding chapter on the "Social and Religious Condition of the Country in Hume's Time," will probably be the most interesting in the volume. Here, again, there is evidence of original research, and the result is so excellent that while congratulating the author on his new departure in literature, we trust he will continue and extend his labours in the same direction, and give us another volume at no distant date. There is much in Mr Fergusson's book to stimulate local inquiry, and perhaps also something to create controversy. We have purposely avoided disputable points, and left small defects unnoticed, because we wish the author to feel that the work in which he has made so good a beginning is one which will bring him the most enduring reputation.

The present volume is nicely illustrated with process-blocks from photographs, the subjects including the Old Kirk of Logie, Old Castle, Blairlogie, Menstrie House, the Earl of Stirling's Town House, and others.

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#### THE PRESBYTERY OF STIRLING AND MIRACLE PLAYS.

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In the minds of some people Muthill is associated with an overfrank and outspoken parson, who, by his own admission, is considered a heretic in Roman Catholic regions and a suspect at home. But long before Dr Rankin's time there has been a suspicious smell of popery in his famous parish. There is a curious reference, in the register of the Presbytery of Stirling, to "Clark-Playis" at the "Kirks of Muthill and Strogayth," some three hundred and sixteen years ago. This would be a survival of those miracle plays which were in vogue in the Church previous to the Reformation. That there was such a survival is seen from the fact that the General Assembly, in 1575, "Discharges all clerk-playes, comedies, or tragedies, out of Canonick Scripture, and if any be made out of Apocrypha, the same to be considered ere they come in publick; and no clerk-play whatsoever to be acted on the Lord's Day, but onlie upon week dayes. The

contravener to be censured, and, if he be a minister, to be deposed." (Row's History, p. 51.) At a meeting of the Presbytery of Stirling, on 21st May, 1583, John Wood and John Broun, schoolmasters at the "Kirks of Muthill and Strogayth," are summoned to answer "at the instance of the Kirk for playing of clark-playis on the Sabbath day, thereby abusing the same, and for ministration of baptism and marriage without lawful admission." John Wood, the schoolmaster at Muthill, confessed his fault and was ordained to make public repentance therefor "in the Kirk of Muthill, and confess his fault in presence of the congregation, immediately after the sermon." The brethren of Dunblane Presbytery, which was at this time united to Stirling, were instructed to try John Wood's "habilitie for teiching of ane schulle, and to report it to ye brethrein." At this meeting John Broun did not appear. He came, however, to a meeting held on 28th May, and denied the charges made against him, but confessed that if any play was played on the Sabbath day, "it was playit be ye bairns by his avyss." The Presbytery enjoined him to produce "the register of ye clark-playis (playit be his bairns, as he allegis)" before the brethren at their meeting in June. This was done, and the brethren resident in Stirling were appointed to visit "the quhilk buik," and give in a report upon it on the second day of July. At the same time Mr Broun has this thesis given him, viz.:—"Is it lesum to play clark-playis on ye Sabboth day or not, And whether if it be lesum or not to mak clark-playis ony pairt of ye Scripture?" This thesis John Broun is ordained to put in Latin and to use "sic probable arguments as he can for proving of baith the pairts of ye said thesis."

The ministers, whose duty it was to examine the clerk-play in question, gave in their report on 2nd July, 1583. It made out that they had found oftentimes therein "mekill banning and swering, sum baldrie and filthy banning." This criticism was not repudiated by the schoolmaster of Stragaith, who gave in his thesis, as appointed, in both prose and verse. The final reference to the matter was at the meeting held on 6th August, when the brethren in Stirling reported upon the merits of John Broun's Latin exercises.

These gentlemen gave the thesis in question their most careful consideration, and also obtained the opinion of Mr Alexander Yule, Rector of Stirling Grammar School, who was a "brother of the Exercise," and a member of Presbytery. Mr Yule personally examined John Broun in his knowledge of the Latin language, and it was reported "that he was instructit reisonnable weill in ye grunds of ye latein grammir, and was able to teiche and proffeit ye youthe therein; and that he was (as appeirit to thame) of gude inclinacioun and abilitie to proffeit himself and of a gude will daylie mair and mair to increas in ye knowledge of his professioun." Such a satisfactory report must have been gratifying to the erring schoolmaster, who was thereupon admitted to teach the Latin grammar "at ye Kirk of Strogayth," where he may profit the Kirk of God in teaching of the youth. John Broun was a Reader under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery, and his name appears on the list of "the eldership and brethren of the Exercise" at this time. It is very questionable if there is another reference in any Presbytery book in Scotland to these Clark-Plays, as this volume belonging to the Presbytery of Stirling is considered the oldest extant.

R. M. F.

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#### LOCAL RECORDS.

It is almost an educational commonplace that the best way of teaching geography is to begin by teaching topography. Children who live in the English Midlands have no more idea of mountains or great rivers than such as can be conveyed by brown spaces or blue lines on a map. But they can be made to understand the part that the slight rises in the ground with which they are familiar play in determining the courses of the sluggish brooks in which they fish on half-holidays or summer evenings, and the knowledge thus gained may be made useful in bringing home to them the forces which shape the earth's surface in regions where Nature works on a grander scale. The schedule of questions put out by Mr Balfour's Committee on Local Records sug-

gest the application of a similar method to the teaching of history. The change in the method of historical study which has taken place in the present century has revolutionised the function of the historian. Once he dealt with books ; now he deals with manuscripts. Once he collected and compared all the printed material relating to the period at which he was working ; now he regards the printed material as merely a bundle of statements, more or less inaccurate or prejudiced, which are almost worthless until they have been tested by the secret documents which the makers of history have left behind them. About the time of the invention of printing the statesmen of Europe developed a passion for providing matter for the printer. Despatches, reports, letters, narratives and counter-narratives of all kinds began to fill the State Paper Offices of Europe, there to slumber till the dust was shaken off them by the inroads of the disciples of Research. The historian ceased to be a mere user of materials, and set to work to discover and reveal them. If education is to keep pace with knowledge, some reference to this vast change must be made, even in school books. The sources from which the narrative is drawn now have to be indicated to the young as well as to the mature student. The old conception of the writer of history as one who lives in a library from the shelves of which he takes down from time to time some stately folio, has given place to that of the worker among endless drawers and cases of letters and documents, written in every imaginable hand, and their contents in many cases concealed by every imaginable cypher. If it is sought to convey to the young student some notion of the general conditions in which history is now written, we cannot do better than introduce him to the manuscript records of his own parish or district. In this way he may learn how registers, which seem only dry lists of births, deaths, and marriages, may clear up obscure pedigrees or determine important dates ; how leases long expired, and, to all appearance, recording nothing that can interest any one now living, may help to settle a doubtful title or a disputed boundary ; how old manorial rolls may supply a missing chapter in family history, or

churchwardens' accounts be evidence in disputes touching the action of the Reformation on the ceremonial of the English Church.

But where is the student to find these various documents, and in what state will they be when he has found them? These are inquiries to which the "Schedule of questions" suggest uncomfortable answers. "What collections of documents relating to the history of the locality already exist?" and "what is the general nature of their contents?" This is the double-barrelled form given to the first question, and in too many cases, we suspect, the answer must be either that there are no existing collections of such documents, or that the general nature of their contents is not known. The documents are sometimes to be found in the church vestry, sometimes in the rector's study, sometimes in the squire's strong box, sometimes in drawers belonging to the parish clerk, sometimes in the office of the clerk of the peace. No general rule obtains on the subject, nor would any one be rash enough to say where such local records are kept until he had made inquiry on the spot. Another question has reference to the buildings in which they are contained, and in particular "is the building fireproof and dry, and are the rooms well-lighted and otherwise adapted for the use of those who may wish to consult them?" Probably the Committee will be suspected with too much reason of poking fun at the actual custodians. Fireproof—when kept in a damp vestry and examined by the light of a candle, and this in a church which, as likely as not, is not even provided with a lightning conductor. "Adapted for the use of those who may wish to consult them?" Why, nobody ever does wish to consult them. The initial difficulty of discovering where they are in the first instance, and the further difficulty of getting them into order when discovered, are enough to disgust any one with a task which is at once so troublesome and so unpromising. As we go on with the Schedule, its humour, to those at least who have any acquaintance with parish records, becomes more marked. Where are the guarantees for the appointment as custodians "of persons with proper qualifications"? Where are the funds "available for the maintenance of the col-

lection, or for adding to its contents"? Who knows, save where some local antiquary has already done good work in the way of preservation and arrangement, "to what date the oldest documents go back"? Some of them, indeed, have been printed by the zeal of a Society which devotes itself to doing this good work by parish registers. But even this service has been fiercely objected to. The original registers are characterised by a veracity which is occasionally almost brutal, and marriages and baptisms sometimes come inconveniently near together. More often the registers are left alone to endure, without much effort being made for their preservation, all that fire, or damp, or vermin can do for their destruction. Often, no doubt, the world is not much the poorer by this loss. The records throw no light except on points of family descent or history which are of no public interest. But however general this rule may be, it has its exceptions, and the business of the Committee will be to make the neglect of such exceptions impossible.

The second Schedule offers, under the guise of questions for the consideration of all who are interested in the preservation of local records, some valuable practical suggestions. If the information, suspected or unsuspected, that local records may contain is to be made available for students, the documents relating to the history and administration of the district should be brought together in some convenient centre and placed under public control. The places where every such document can be found should be mentioned in county or borough directories, and their custodians should be named in the lists of county or borough officers. In the case of parish registers and other records likely to be consulted by the parishioners, duplicates should remain on the spot, but the originals should be transferred to some local centre where they might be safely kept and easily consulted. There would be no need of making any rigid rule as regards the choice of these centres. They might be many or few as the conditions of the district suggested. The convenience of those who would have from time to time to forward them would naturally point to their multiplication. The convenience of those who have to consult them would naturally

keep down their numbers. But where new duties are imposed on officials who have already a good deal of unpaid or poorly paid work to get through, the good working of the system demands that they shall be made as little burdensome as may be; and after all, the main point for the student is that he should know exactly where he must go if he wants to consult any particular record. Whether the area from which the records have been collected be the county or some subdivision of the county is a matter of less moment than that it should be mentioned in the County and Borough Directory which appears in "Whitaker's Almanack." Another suggestion contained in these questions is that local libraries under public control or managed by trustworthy local bodies might be made useful for the purposes of custody. Of course there are libraries and libraries, and before any of them were entrusted with this duty it would be necessary to make full inquiry as to its permanence, the nature and amount of the accommodation provided for documents, the qualifications of the Librarian, the hours of attendance, and the like. But in some, perhaps in many, of the Free Libraries that are growing up in London and other great towns all these conditions would be satisfied, and in this way the difficulty, otherwise considerable, of "securing the services of competent custodians" would be removed. As regards the cost of these improvements, the sum needed would vary with the amount of the existing provision in the way of buildings and custodians. But we do not see how local funds can be better spent than in the preservation of the materials of local history. In proportion as these materials become more widely known, more generally valued, and more freely drawn upon in the preparation of local histories, local patriotism will grow, and to minister to this growth is a very proper use for the rates to which every citizen has to contribute. There is no reason, of course, why fees should not be charged for searches made for purely private ends, but the student is doing a greater service to the locality at whose history he is working than the locality can possibly be doing him by putting him in possession of the information for which he is searching.—*Spectator*.

THE CHURCHES IN STIRLING CASTLE.\*

The publication of certain of our national records having revealed the existence at one and the same time of two churches, or chapels, in Stirling Castle, this "new fact" must be regarded as necessitating to some extent a revision of local history, as it has been assumed by every writer on the subject that when the ancient royal chapel developed into the Chapel Royal of Scotland in the reign of James III., and the Collegiate Church, or Royal College, of James IV., the new ecclesiastical establishment entirely superseded the old. In the following notes I endeavour to clear up the matter, as far as it is possible to do so with the information at present available.

The foundation of a chapel in the Castle of Stirling by Alexander I. is proved by the record of a dispute in the following reign about part of its endowments. An agreement adjusted at Edinburgh in presence of David I., his son, Prince Henry, and the principal nobility, sets forth that the King's Barons remembered that on the day when King Alexander caused the chapel of the Castle of Stirling to be dedicated, he granted to it the tithes of his domains in the Lordship of Stirling. The saint to whom the chapel was dedicated is not named in this document, but there can be no doubt that it was St Michael the Archangel. S. Modwena, who flourished in the sixth century, gets the credit of founding several churches in Scotland, all of them dedicated to St Michael of the Mount, and it is noteworthy that one of these was a church in Stirling Castle. By a charter dated about 1130, King David granted to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline two churches in his burgh of Stirling, and it is presumed that these were the Church of the Holy Cross, or parish church, and the Chapel of St Michael in the Castle. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that subsequent royal and other charters in favour of the Abbey of Dunfermline include the Chapel in Stirling Castle among the number of its possessions. A list of the articles required for the service of

\* Paper read by the Editor before the Aberdeen Ecclesiastical Society, on the occasion of their visit to Stirling, 25th September, 1899.

the Chapel in 1298 will be found in the "Historical Documents of Scotland," vol. ii., p. 299. From an entry in the Exchequer Rolls for the year 1359, it appears that the salary of the chaplain was the modest sum of £5 per annum, payable at the King's pleasure. The High Chamberlain, in his account presented at Stirling on 18th March, 1384, records a payment for two thousand nails with heads for the door of the chapel in Stirling Castle. During the Regency of Robert Duke of Albany, the royal chapel received a permanent endowment of ten merks from the lands of Cragorth, now Craigforth. The Duke's charter, which is dated 26th June, 1407, bears that the grant is given "for the salvation of the souls of the most excellent princes, of good memory, Robert and David of Bruce, Robert Steward, our father, and Robert Steward, our brother, late Kings of Scotland, and also for the salvation of the souls of Margaret and Muriel, our wives, and of our children, and of our predecessors and successors, and of all the faithful dead." The endowment is dedicated "to God and the beloved Virgin Mary and St Michael the Archangel, and to a chaplain celebrating and for ever to celebrate divine service in the chapel of St Michael the Archangel, situated within the Castle of Stirling." It is perhaps on account of the terms of this charter that the Chapel a century later is called the Chapel Royal of the Blessed Mary and St Michael, although there is no record of a fresh dedication. The Irish ecclesiastic, St Malachi or Michael, visited David I. in one of his Castles, and healed his son, Prince Henry, and the late Rev. Dr Rogers, in his "History of the Chapel Royal," says that in commemoration of this event the name of the Irish saint may have suggested a dedication of the Chapel Royal alike to himself and to the chief of the apostles. But, as we have seen, the dedication to St Michael took place before King David succeeded to the throne. The Duke of Albany's interest in the royal chapel was further shown by his rebuilding the fabric, or erecting an entirely new edifice in 1412, the Exchequer Rolls showing an expenditure of £22 3s 8d in the construction of the chapel of the Castle of Stirling. From the burgh customs between 1431 and 1435, small payments were

made for bread, wine, soap, and wax for the chapel, and also for two phials for the altar. These, along with a grant of £7 6s 8d to the chaplain out of the revenues of the forfeited Earldom of Menteith, are the only payments recorded during the reign of James I. In the time of his successor there are two payments, in 1437 and 1453 respectively, which are said to have been made during the absence of the King and Queen. The second of these—£5 1s 8d, for the expenses of the chaplains and boys—would seem to point to the existence of a choir in the chapel before it blossomed into the Chapel Royal of Scotland, with its imposing staff of officials.

This hasty survey of the history of St Michael's Chapel brings us down to the reign of James III., to whom Stirling Castle owes its spacious Parliament Hall, still a noble building in spite of its degradation to barrack-rooms and canteen. The exact time when King James erected the chapel in the Castle into the Chapel Royal of his kingdom is not known. The Exchequer Rolls for 1469 show that Sir Thomas Bully, master of work to the chapel of Stirling Castle, is responsible to the custumar of Dundee for £18 13s 4d, being the price of 200 planks of Estland timber, or Dantzic wainscotting, and 220 flagstones for the floor—it is erroneously called the roof in the Index to the published rolls—and ornamentation of the said chapel, together with the cost of freight from Dundee to Stirling, amounting to £2 15s. These payments point to the completion of a work of some importance, and Lindsay of Pitscottie's narrative states that James III. founded the Chapel Royal after the defeat of Henry VI. by Edward IV., which was in April, 1471. The Lord High Treasurer's Accounts for 1473 and 1474 contain a number of items of expenditure on new fittings and vestments for the Chapel, but I think Dr. Rogers is wrong in representing these as referring to the Chapel in Stirling Castle. They appear to me to belong to the Chapel at Holyrood, and there is no authority for the rev. Doctor's interpolation of Cambuskenneth, apparently to give the entries a local colouring. I find that one of our oldest Burgh Protocols contains an entry of a marriage on 22nd November, 1474, in the chapel of St. Michael within the Castle of Stirling. One would

have thought that if the Chapel Royal had been erected at this time, the new dignity would have been duly mentioned in the record of the marriage. It is, of course, possible that the union of the Priory of Coldingham with the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle, a step which was made an excuse by the Homes for joining in the insurrection in which the king lost his life, marks the completion of James' scheme. The expansion of the Chapel Royal into a Collegiate Church by his successor is usually dated 1501, but the Exchequer Rolls for 1497-99 show that this event must have taken place earlier, an entry in one account bearing that £13 6s 8d was paid out of the old endowment of the chapel to the collegiate church newly erected in the Castle of Stirling, while another entry records the conversion of the King's garden in the Castle into a garden for Mr David Trail, its first Provost. It is only by attention to minutiae that light can be obtained on the ecclesiastical situation now created, and I ask you to observe that the amount given to the collegiate church out of the old endowment of the royal chapel is exactly two years' revenue from Craigforth, and therefore it may be inferred that for that space the Chapel of St Michael had been deprived of its income. There is the further inference that the collegiate church, and the Chapel Royal of James III., must have been erected on a different site from the old chapel, and a tradition exists that the latter was near the Ladies' Lookout, and adjacent to the old Palace which preceded that of James V. It is clear, at all events, as I shall show presently, that the old chapel was not taken down when the Chapel Royal was erected into a collegiate church, although there was seemingly a period during which divine service within its walls was suspended.

The late Mr George Burnett, in his preface to vol. xii. of the Exchequer Rolls, states that James IV. "renovated and adorned the chapel, and bestowed liberal endowments upon it. The revenues of various churches were attached to the new canonries and prebends created, these endowments being afterwards confirmed by Parliament. A feu-duty or annualrent of ten marks from Craigforth (Craigforth) had from as early a date as Albany's regency belonged to the

chaplains doing duty in Stirling Castle. There are, besides, annual payments from the fermes of Cragorth and Raploch, amounting to £13 6s 8d; the rents of Strathbraan, Glenshee, and Auchenvaid, being £95 6s 8d; the rents of Casteliaw in the shire of Edinburgh; also, £80 yearly from Menteith to three chaplains, and 24 marks yearly from the customs of Edinburgh, to Nicholas Abernethy, cantor." But here Mr Burnett has mixed up things which have no connection with each other. The accounts published in the same volume show that only the old endowment of ten merks from Craigforth, the grants from the lands in Perthshire and Edinburghshire, and the grant from the Edinburgh customs, were given to the newly-erected collegiate church. The others are expressly stated to belong to the chaplain in the old church—in *vetera ecclesia*—in the Castle of Stirling. What took place seems to have been this. The original endowment from Craigforth of ten merks having been appropriated for the Chapel Royal, along with the name of St Michael's Church, and the latter having in consequence fallen into disuse, James IV., by a charter dated 8th October, 1504, granted 20 merks additional out of the lands of Craigforth, together with an acre of the lands of Raploch, to a chaplain in the old church, and the Church was re-opened, or as it is expressed in a later volume, was newly erected, that is, restored to its former position. The grant to the three chaplains is dated 1506, and the entry in the rolls sets forth that it came from the revenues of the Stewartry of Menteith, that it amounted to £15 for the half-year accounted for, and that it was given by the King to the three chaplains, whose names are mentioned, of the old church newly erected—*noviter erectat*—in the Castle of Stirling. Evidently, this was quite a different institution from the Chapel Royal and Collegiate Church, with its provost, dean, sub-dean, treasurer, chancellor, chanter, canons, &c., and the payments to each are carefully kept distinct and differentiated in the accounts down to 1558, the eve of the Reformation. It is almost conclusive evidence of this separateness that the register of the rights of the Chapel Royal does not contain a single charter or grant in favour of the old church in the Castle of

Stirling, although a charter dated 1563, alienating part of the ecclesiastical lands, couples together the old church and the Chapel Royal. The Chapel Royal survived the revolution of 1560, but the old church of St Michael appears to have been abandoned, if it was not destroyed in the spirit of the time, and no trace of the ancient chapel now exists.

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### THE PARISH CHURCH OF STIRLING.\*

There are many references in the Register of Dunfermline Abbey to show that a church existed in Stirling from an early period in the twelfth century. Authorities are agreed that it occupied the site of the present church. The town of Stirling was burnt, and the church along with it, in the month of March, 1405-6. In the Chamberlain's accounts for 1414 appears the following item:—"He (the Chamberlain) does not charge himself for the issue of an ayre (an itinerant court) held at Stirling because it was granted to the work of the burnt Parish Church." Authorities are also agreed that this date represents the building of the west portion of the present church; but there are indications of older walls in the building. When the west portion was finished it contained the bell tower, nave, north and south aisles, and a small choir or chancel. This chancel existed in what is now the space between the nave and choir of the extended church. The nave is five bays in length, with buttresses, of which only two on the north side and two on the south are original. The east and west bays of the north aisle, also the east bay of the south aisle, were subsequently extended and formed into chapels. The chapel at the north-west corner is traditionally known as Queen Margaret's Chapel. This arises from the carving of the Tudor rose and thistle which appear on the arch at the entrance to the chapel, symbolising the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of Queen Margaret and James IV. The

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\* Paper read by ex-Bailie Ronald before the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, on the occasion of their visit to Stirling, 25th September, 1899.

chapel at the north-east, now restored by Dr R. Rowand Anderson, has been identified by Mr. W. B. Cook as "the Aile of St Andrew." At the time of the restoration it was found that the east wall of this chapel did not belong to it, but was really the outside wall of another and an older building, possibly part of the burnt church of 1406. The chapel on the south side adjoining the present entrance, known as the "Bowye's Ile," was acquired in 1632 by William, the first Earl of Stirling, as a burying-place. He died at London in 1640, and his body having been embalmed, was conveyed by sea to Stirling and interred in this chapel. It has since been known as the Earl of Stirling's Aisle. The church had three doors—the great west door, ten feet wide, entered at the tower; the south door, six feet wide, in the second west bay of the south aisle; and the north door, three feet wide, in the second west bay of the north aisle. During certain alterations in 1820 these doors were built up, but the formation of the lower parts can still be seen.

The nave is about 80 feet in length, divided from the aisles by two rows of massive pillars. Six of these are round and plain, and fully four feet in diameter. The other two are ornamental; probably the rood screen was placed between them, which may account for the difference in character. The groined ceiling of nave centre aisle is modern, and wrought in plaster. It ought to be removed, as it conceals the massive old oak timbers of the roof. The entrance to the tower was from the inside landing at the west door. The ancient tower was not more than half the height of the present, with one apartment which contained the "Saints' Bell." This bell is still in the tower, and bears the inscription in old English letters:—"*Ave Maria gratia plena, dominus tecum, benedicta tu immulieribus et benedictu.*" The legend stops thus abruptly, there being no room for its completion within the circumference of the bell.

With the dawn of the sixteenth century the necessity arose for increased accommodation in the church. Consequently, in 1507, an agreement was entered into between James Beaton, Abbot of Dunfermline, and the Town Council of Stirling, to enlarge the church by building at the east end

"ane gude and sufficient quier." This included what is known as the East Church, excluding the west gallery, which formed the small choir or chancel of the older building. About the same period the upper part of the tower was built. The choir is three bays in length, terminating in an apse; the windows are tall, and filled with tracery, all modern except the two side windows of the apse, which retain the original stone. The eastern end of the choir, with the apse, forms a very effective piece of architecture, especially from the outside, where the falling ground gives additional height to the walls of this part of the church. The choir had side aisles groined in stone, with triforium over, but no clerestory. The triforium was removed at a recent restoration in 1868. When this was complete the church would be open from tower to apse, and a magnificent building it must have been, extending in length about 208 feet and in breadth over walls about 64 feet. The church thus enlarged and completed was well fitted to be the place of the coronation of James VI., which took place on 29th July, 1567.

The church was dedicated to the Holy Cross, or Holy Rood, but the date of the dedication is unknown. Neither is it known when the altar of the Holy Cross was founded within it. The first reference we have seen is in 1332, when Anna de Keloch (a friend of David II.) gave certain donations or gifts to the Altar of the Holy Cross in the Parish Church of Stirling. Robert II. confirmed these gifts by charter, and henceforth the church appears as "The Parish Church of the Holy Cross of the Burgh of Stirling." It is an utter mistake to call it the Greyfriars' Church. The Greyfriars never had any connection with it, as their church and monastery stood on the site of the present High School.

References have been found to twenty altars besides the High Altar, viz., the Altar of the Holy Cross, situate in the rood loft; St Lawrence; Our Ladie, on the south; St Michael, in the north aisle; St James, in the nave; St John the Baptist; St Mary, St Peter, and St Paul, in the north aisle of St Mary; St Ninian; St Andrew, in the aisle of St Andrew; St Thomas, and the Altar of the Holy Trinity, in the aisle of the Holy Trinity; St

Katherine, said to be anciently founded; St Stephen, St Salvator, Holy Blood; St Matthew and St Luke; St Anne and the Virgin's Altar were both situate in the south aisle. Besides these the craftsmen who could not maintain an altar had each their patron saint—St Severan was the patron saint of the weavers, St Eloy of the hammermen, St Hubert of the bakers, and St Cuthbert of the fleshers and butchers.

The consecration crosses are to be seen incised on walls and piers both in the nave and choir, and in connection with the dedication of the church to the Holy Cross or Holy Rood, it is interesting to notice upon the surface of hundreds of stones, both outside and inside the nave, the incision of five minute circles arranged in the form of a cross, varying in size from one o o o and a half inches downwards. Observe a o recess in the wall of the north aisle of the choir, bell shaped and ornamented with carved stone work. This was called the Easter Sepulchre, so called because it had connection with certain important ceremonies at Eastertide.

#### THE REFORMATION.

This brings us to the period of the Reformation. It is pleasing to know that at this time no structural damage was done to the Parish Church. When matters settled down and the new order of things was introduced, the congregation used the choir only as their church. The entrance was by the south door of the nave. The nave itself was known as the "outer kirk," and the choir the inner kirk. Gradually seats were introduced, also galleries or lofts. There was the King's Loft in the transept, with the King's window, where he could see and hear the service without being seen, the Garden Loft, My Lord of Cambuskenneth's Loft, the Merchant or Guildry Loft at the east end, the Magistrates' Loft, the Earl of Stirling's Loft, the Argyle Loft, the Grammar School, or Scholars' Loft, and the Trades' Loft, where the members of the seven incorporated trades sat. These quaint old seats and lofts or galleries were removed in 1803, and a new arrangement of seating carried out, with a gallery round three sides of the old choir, and the pulpit at the west end between the two great pillars. This arrange-

ment was again altered, the gallery being entirely removed and the present plan of seating, pulpit, &c., carried into effect in 1869. At the same time certain other alterations were carried out, such as the wood-lined ceiling of centre aisle; the lofty arch between the two great pillars, and the double segment window, were put in, and the whole of the internal stone work redressed. It is regrettable that this involved the removal of the King's window, also they removed the triforium by lowering the north and south aisle roofs, and putting glass in the triforium openings.

#### THE NAVE AFTER THE REFORMATION.

With the exception of a few years during the Commonwealth, this part of the building remained unoccupied for 180 years. In 1731, the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine was appointed third minister, and occupied the old nave as his church. Being a popular preacher, he very soon filled it. During his short incumbency the church was put in order, the area occupied with seats, and lofts and galleries erected. These were known as the Magistrates' Loft, the Guildry Loft, the Maltmen's Loft, the Weavers' Loft, the Tailors' Loft, and a number of other lofts. The nave was only occupied for about nine years, when the door was locked, and Ebenezer Erskine was prevented from entering in. With the exception of a few months' occupancy by St Ninians congregation during the rebuilding of their church after its destruction at the Rebellion of 1745, it was not again occupied for upwards of fifty years. In 1797 it underwent a partial restoration; windows were put in of the same style as those in the back wall of the transept. After a few months' occupancy by the East Church congregation, it was again unoccupied till 1817. In that year Mr Gillespie Graham, a famous architect in his day, was called in, contracts were entered into, and alterations effected on the old nave at a cost of £1400. This is called the restoration of 1820, and so complete was it that it almost obliterated and effaced the ancient appearance of the building. The gable and entrance at the transept on the south side was erected in 1867. Excepting necessary repairs, and the excavation of earth from the walls for the removal of damp, no alteration to speak of has

taken place till this year, when the Town Council carried into effect the restoration of the Aisle of St Andrew. They have also, in a most praiseworthy manner, opened up the tower to visitors, so that the bells may be seen with comparative comfort, and you can ascend to the roof and have a magnificent view of the whole country.

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**CHRISTOPHER BELL, TEACHER AND  
PRECENTOR:**

**ONE OF THE GUESTS AT THE FIRST BURNS  
SUPPER IN STIRLING, 27TH AUGUST, 1787.**

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The last Sunday and Monday of August, 1787, were two eventful and happy days in the existence—all too brief, alas!—of Robert Burns. On the Sunday morning the poet, in company with his friend and fellow-traveller, William Nicol, had visited the old churchyard of Falkirk, and there had knelt in patriotic devotion at the tomb of Sir John the Graham, the gallant friend of Sir William Wallace. Continuing his journey, Burns called at Auchenbowie House, where he dined with the laird, Mr Monro, and his daughter. Then he drove to the field of Bannockburn, and, as he wrote to his friend, Robert Muir, said a fervent prayer for Old Caledonia over the hole of a blue whin-stone where Robert de Bruce fixed his royal standard on the banks of Bannockburn. An hour later he was standing on the battlements of Stirling Castle viewing the glorious prospect of the windings of the Forth through the rich Caes of Stirling, in the purple light of the setting sun. For that night and the following one the poet and his friend had taken rooms at the newly-erected inn below the Mealmarket, and near the New Port, the inner defence of our ancient burgh. It may be noted that the fact that it was on Sunday evening that Burns visited the Castle disposes of the story told by Mr John Dick of Craigengelt to the effect that his uncle, Provost Dick, saw the poet in Broad Street as he came down from the Castle one day on which, for some reason or other, the schoolboys (of whom the Provost was one) had got a holiday, and the town bells were rung. If the incident occurred

on the occasion of Burns's first visit to Stirling, it must have been the church bells that young Dick heard ringing, but the mention of Ramsay of Ochtertyre in connection with the story points to the occasion being the Bard's second visit to the town in the October following. After a day so full of interest, it may be surmised that Burns did not sleep very soundly. His visit to the historic battlefield had fired his imagination. He fancied to himself, as he writes in his *Commonplace Book*, that he saw his gallant heroic countrymen coming over the hill and down upon the plunderers of their country, the murderers of their fathers, noble revenge and just hate glowing in every vein, striving more and more eagerly as they approached the oppressive, insulting, bloodthirsty foe. He saw them meet in glorious triumphant congratulation on the victorious field, exulting in their heroic royal leader, and rescued liberty and independence. In after years these glowing visions, which had never been forgotten, produced at the proper moment the stirring war ode, "*Scots Wha Hae*," the best, as Carlyle says, that was ever written by any pen. Alternating with these patriotic emotions, there surged in the poet's breast a feeling of intense indignation that Stirling Castle, for the possession of which Bruce had risked so much and fought so well, should be so shamefully neglected by Bruce's successors on the Scottish throne, and, no doubt, before tired nature's sweet restorer visited his pillow, he had composed the vehement lines which next morning, before his companion came downstairs to breakfast, he scratched with a diamond on a pane of glass in the window of the public room looking into the yard of the inn. In the political turmoil of the time, these lines were apt to tell against their author, and in a cooler moment Burns took an opportunity of destroying the tell-tale glass, but that he did not retract his opinions is proved by the fact that he wrote several copies of the verses and made no attempt to conceal their authorship. There can be little doubt, however, that they hindered his promotion in the Excise. Before his appointment as an exciseman, Burns tells us that he was questioned like a child about his personal matters, and blamed and schooled for his inscription on the Stirling window.

The Monday thus begun was spent by the poet with some Ayrshire friends who were living at Harviestoun. The clear winding Devon had many attractions for Burns, who seems also to have been fascinated by the charms of a lovely girl, to the influence of which he was always very susceptible. The day, he says, was one of the most pleasant he ever had in his life, and he returned to Stirling in the evening in high good humour. It may have been on that night he paid a brief visit to the local Lodge of Freemasons, Ancient 30, and signed the Attendance Register which is said to have disappeared, but not before the bold signature of our national Bard had been wantonly cut out. The crowded day finished fittingly with a symposium in Wingate's Inn, excelling, as one may easily suppose, in wit and wisdom, in poesy and song, any of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* of which a later poet was the bright particular star. Henley, in his odious manner, would have us believe that this, the first Burns supper in Stirling, was not only as stupid as the average festive gatherings on the 25th January, but was simply a jollification or "drucken spree," and that it was this that inspired the "Lines on a Window in Stirling." But, as we have seen, the lines were composed before the supper, and that this meeting was no debauch is proved, not only by the company who were present, but by the fact that at an early hour on the following day, Burns wrote a beautiful letter in the inn to his friend, Gavin Hamilton, a letter which it is safe to say no person who had been guilty of excess the night before could have been in a condition to indite. Burns's own note of the occasion in his Common-place Book is very brief:—

"At Stirling—Supper—Messrs Doig, the schoolmaster; Bell, and Captain Forrester of the Castle. Doig, a queerish figure and something of a pedant; Bell, a joyous fellow who sings a good song; Forrester, a merry swearing kind of man, with a dash of the 'sodjer.'"

To this trio have to be added William Nicol, and Burns himself, so that the Army, education, and literature were well represented in the little company. Of Dr Doig it is unnecessary to speak. The learned Rector of the Grammar School of

Stirling, who had disputed, not unsuccessfully, with Lord Kames about the savage state of man, and was himself an aspirant to poetic fame, must have keenly enjoyed the full-blooded flow of Burns's conversation. As for Forrester, the fact that Burns notes that he was a swearing kind of man, is proof that the habit of profane swearing, common enough at the time, was not one of the poet's faults. But what of Bell, the joyous fellow who sang a good song? Mr W. Harvey, in his recently-published work entitled "Robert Burns in Stirlingshire," says, "Regarding 'Bell' of the company, there is some doubt. Beyond his name Burns gives no information, but it is likely that he was Christopher Bell, who was a schoolmaster in Stirling at the time." But there is really no doubt of the fact, and there never could be any in the mind of a person familiar with the Stirling of the period. Out of the four thousand six hundred souls or thereby who then composed the entire population of the burgh, there was only one Bell who could answer Burns's description. This description, and the company he was in, are two sure marks of identification, independently of Christopher Bell's friendship with Forrester. He was in company with Mr David Doig, schoolmaster, and he could sing a good song. Both as English teacher and as precentor, Bell was doubtless well known to Nicol, who was a teacher in the High School of Edinburgh, and who may be credited with suggesting the choice of guests for the evening. Like Burns himself, Mr Harvey gives no information about Bell beyond his name and designation, and while there was no call for Burns to do more than he did, or even so much, it was, in our opinion, clearly the duty of the author of a book on Burns in Stirlingshire to take a little trouble to try and find out something more about the guests at the famous Stirling supper. The following sketch of one of them is compiled from materials which have lain beside us for some years, and were derived from sources open to any inquirer.

Christopher Bell, before coming to Stirling, was schoolmaster at Campsie. We have satisfied ourselves that he did not belong to the Bells of Antermony, but we think it probable he was a son of the Rev. William Bell,

minister of the parish of Campsie from 1749 to 1783. Dr Scott, in his *Fasts*, states that Mr Bell was married, but does not mention any children of the marriage. Christopher's appointment in Stirling is dated 23rd February, 1771, when he succeeded the deceased Mr John M'Inlay. The educational arrangements in Stirling prior to Mr Bell's appointment seem to have been these: Mr David Doig conducted the Grammar School with the assistance of a doctor of Latin, and he had liberty to teach a class of such English scholars as were far advanced, if they intended to learn Latin and other languages; Mr Douglas was teacher of one of the English Schools, carried on in Cowane's Hospital; Mr M'Inlay, a former assistant of Mr Douglas's predecessor, Mr Burns, before the English School was divided into two in 1763, conducted the other school in the house in Baker Street now belonging to Mr William Boswell, bootmaker; and Mr Daniel Manson was writing master and teacher of arithmetic and book-keeping. Mr Manson was also precentor in the Parish Church and music master, receiving fees for his teaching of music in the English Schools, but being bound to attend the Grammar School and teach the scholars there gratis. The Rector and his Latin doctor were allowed to charge for teaching English as well as the dead languages, and in addition, Mr Doig had a salary of £40 per annum and a free house. Mr Burns had perhaps £20 after the division of the schools, and the fees; Mr M'Inlay, £15 and the fees; and Mr Manson, £200 Scots (£16 13s 4d) and the fees. When Christopher Bell succeeded Mr M'Inlay in 1771, he was also appointed to precent in the church for Mr Manson, and to act as music master, Mr Manson giving up all the emoluments arising from the teaching of vocal music in the burgh. About 1777, Mr Bell married one of the Littlejohn family, and was admitted a burghess *qua* guild brother in right of his wife.\* In 1786, the school in Baxter's Wynd, with shop below, was ordered to be sold by public roup, new writing and English schools being erected in Cowane's Yard on part of the site now occupied

\* We are indebted to Mr A. F. Hutcheson, M.A., ex-Rector of the High School, for this information, and also for the identification of the English school in Baker Street.

by the High School. On the death of Mr Manson in 1791, Mr Thomas Smith, St Andrews, was appointed his successor, but he was not to teach music, Mr Bell being again appointed precentor and teacher of church music. The Council evidently thought this a good opportunity of reuniting the two English Schools, and they offered Mr Archibald Douglas, if he would resign, an annuity of £16, and £5 to carry him to the place in which he meant to reside, but if he stopped in Stirling his annuity was to stop also. The English School, it was arranged, was to be conducted under the joint care of Mr Bell and Mr M'Leran. These resolutions, however, did not please Mr Douglas, and he held on to his office for two years longer, when the Council allowed him on resignation his salary for life, and provided an assistant for Mr Bell, both the English Schools being thrown into one. This arrangement seems to have worked satisfactorily, as we find that both Mr Bell and his assistant, David Jameson, received an addition of £5 to their salary in 1797.

One year prior to this event, Robert Burns's earthly career had closed in gloom and disappointment, and we may feel sure that not the least sincere mourner was Christopher Bell, whose fine voice must have found a new and delightful exercise in the singing of "Scots Wha Hae" and other masterpieces of his departed friend. In some versions of Burns's entry in his *Commonplace Book of the Stirling Supper*, the word "vacant" is introduced after "joyous," and Bell is described as a "joyous, vacant fellow." This expression is not in the edition of Burns's works from which we extracted the entry some twenty years ago, and we do not know the authority for it. But we submit that if the word is genuine, it does not mean unintelligent, much less idiotic. No such person could sing a song in a way to call forth the poet's praise, and the word "vacant," if used at all, could only have been meant as inexpressive in contrast to Dr Doig's keen intellectual features.\*

\* Mr Hutchison informs us that he had the good fortune to find in Stirling a very fine wax medallion of Christopher Bell, which shows a face of broad and rather heavy features, with small eyes, which, however, are anything but unintelligent; in fact, they give one the idea of twinkling with humour. In repose, nevertheless, the countenance may have appeared dull.

Bell's position as English teacher is also against the presumption that he was vacant or empty-headed. That he was really acute and a good man of business, is proved by the fact that he was afterwards appointed Session Clerk, keeper of the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, and one of the auditors of the Kirk Session's accounts. It may also be remarked here that his being an elder of the Church is another circumstance disproving the supposition that the Stirling Supper was allowed to degenerate into a debauch.

We now come to an incident in Mr Bell's career which is most honourable to his memory. There is nothing to show that he ever sympathised with Burns's revolutionary sentiments — sentiments which Burns himself renounced, as his Address to the Dumfries Volunteers clearly shows, and in the year 1800, when Napoleon threatened to invade Great Britain, and the country armed to resist him, Christopher Bell was patriotic enough to enrol himself in the corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, although he must then have been considerably over fifty years of age. He retired, however, the following year, and did not rejoin in 1803, when a new embodiment of the corps took place. Unfortunately, he did not live to see the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. Mr Bell continued to fill the office of senior English master till failing health compelled him to resign. A minute of the Town Council, dated 9th October, 1813, records his resignation, and proceeds to state that the Council, in respect of his long and faithful service for above 43 years, allow him to retire on his salary of £50 sterling during his life. It was not, however, till February of the following year that Mr John Weir was appointed his successor. The Kirk Session minute of 16th August, 1813, is the last of the regular series written by Mr Bell from his appointment as Clerk on 3rd November, 1800, but there is one more minute in his handwriting, very shaky in comparison with the others, and kept straight by pencilled lines across the page. It is dated 17th November, 1813, and, no doubt, marks his return to duty after a serious illness. He died in October of the following year, having probably reached the threescore and ten. Stirling has had many worthy teachers, but none more worthy than Christopher Bell, the joyous fellow who sang

a good song, and who, patiently and faithfully labouring in his vocation, rejoiced alike in the psalms of David and the songs of Burns.

25th January, 1900.

Ed.

FAC-SIMILE OF CHRISTOPHER BELL'S  
SIGNATURE.



## LEGENDS OF DUNBLANE.

(Continued from Vol. II.)

### DUNBLANE CATHEDRAL.

O, had thy stony lips the power  
In living accents to unfold  
Thy history since art was young,  
And first thy pillar'd arches sprung.

—*Gamma.*

The restoration of this venerable building has attracted considerable attention, and it is in every way worthy of national respect. Its picturesque situation and architectural beauty, its historical associations and the remembrance that within the weather-beaten walls successive generations of Scotsmen have worshipped for nearly eight centuries, all cannot fail to impress the visitor when viewing the pillared aisles and time-worn memorials of past ages.

The early history of the cathedral is necessarily more or less of a speculative character. That the Culdees first occupied the site there can be no reasonable doubt. St. Blane, the patron-saint of Dunblane, lived in the latter half of the sixth century, and he founded the fraternity of Culdees at Dunblane, and it is believed that he died and was buried there. During the six centuries following the death of St. Blane, history throws but a feeble light on the vicissitudes of the place, but

it would seem that, according to some authorities, Dunblane was pillaged and destroyed in the ninth century. The Culdees remained at Dunblane until the thirteenth century, and the Cathedral City bears the reputation of being one of the last abodes of the order in Scotland.

The cathedral proper was founded by David I. in 1140. The building made slow progress, the rude condition of society and the frequent wars with England had their effect. In the reign of Alexander II., a letter dated 1240, written at Rome, from the Pope of that day, mentions that the cathedral was then lying bare and roofless. Under Bishop Clement (1233-57) the cathedral was greatly enlarged and beautified—the nave in particular being built during his tenure of office. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Bishops Ochiltree and Chisholm followed the patriotic example of Bishop Clement by adding to the extension and embellishment of the building. The details of Bishop Ochiltree's contributions are not known. What is believed to be his effigy and tomb are in a recess at the south-east corner of the nave. Bishop Chisholm, the first of the three bishops of that name, added the two upper storeys of the tower, and his arms are still to be seen on the south parapet.

The Earls of Strathearn were generous patrons of the cathedral. Gilbert, third earl of that title, bequeathed a third part of his estates for the benefit of the diocese. The revenue of the cathedral, before and after the Reformation, was derived from a large tract of country, but, in value, one of the poorest in Scotland. Space will not permit notice of the intricate details involved in such matter, but there is a presumption that before the Reformation the building suffered from neglect and an impoverished exchequer. During the tumults of the Reformation, Dunblane Cathedral, in common with other notable ecclesiastical buildings, suffered severely. Its altars and the building itself were rudely handled. In *The Book of Perth* it is recorded that one morning in June, 1559, a body of Perth citizens, headed by the Duke of Argyle and Prior of St. Andrews (Lord James Stewart, afterwards the famous Earl of Moray), entered the cathedral, and, after rude contention with the worshippers, the invaders

proceeded to destroy altars and images. The wreckage was thrown over the bank into the Allan. Having accomplished their work of sacrilege and destruction, the mob wended its way to Stirling to engage in further scenes of violence. The altars thus destroyed were at least eight in number, viz., the High Altar, Trinity Altar, Our Lady Altar, the Altars of St. Blais, St. Blane, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, and St. Stephen. It would seem that for a few years after the above raid by the Reformers, the rites of the Roman Catholic Church were celebrated in a surreptitious manner, as it is mentioned in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, that in August, 1569, four priests were bound at the market cross of Stirling, and pelted by a mob for daring to hold mass in Dunblane Cathedral.

From 1570 the cathedral gradually decayed. Its roofless nave exposed, it is marvellous how the bare pillars and western gable survived the storms of three centuries. The choir alone served as a habitable church for Episcopalian and Presbyterian until the restoration of 1892. The cathedral tower is six storeys in height—the four lower are early Norman in style, and are supposed to date from the twelfth century; the two upper storeys, added by Bishop Chisholm, are surmounted by turrets and parapet battlements, and crowned by a small spire. The total height of the tower is 128 feet. The belfry contains two bells—the larger bears the inscription: "I was founded in Edinburgh, 1612, by William Blaikwood, Bailie of Dunblane, and stayed still so in my exercise till 1657, when I was broken by the unskilful directions and handling of some men; and by the care and expense of Harrie Blaikwood, Bailie of Dunblane, son of William, I am founded again at Brimin by M. Glavdigage, anno 1660; re-cast anno 1809, by T. Mears & Son of London, out of the funds of the Kirk Session of Dunblane." The inscription on the smaller bell testifies that it was "Founded by Lieutenant-General Drummond in the year 1687, re-founded by the Kirk Session of Dunblane in the year 1723. Robertus Maxwell, fecit, Edinburgh." The clock was manufactured by Andrew Dickie, Stirling, 1733.

The nave, 130 feet in length, is formed by eight bays, and is the finest part of the building. The west door is of singular beauty, and the mouldings

are in good preservation. On either side of the door are shallow arched recesses, with cusped heads. The west window, with its symmetrical double lancets, has as its apex the famous leafed window alluded to by Ruskin in his *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*. This triumph of the mason's art is truly a marvel of skill—the exquisite carving of two leaves crossed. No one can doubt, after close scrutiny, that these leaves must have been cut out of the natural specimens. The top of the wreath is crowned by the insertion of a third leaf reversed, and forms a fit climax to the beautiful and artistic sign.

The nave contains some ancient tombstones—the most conspicuous are two on the north wall; the westernmost is that of the Strathallan family, with arms carved on stone; the other is to the memory of an Earl and Countess of Strathearn—died 1271. In the north-west corner of the nave is a fine Celtic cross, curiously carved.

The choir is 80 feet in length, and 30 feet in breadth. It has no aisles and is lighted by six long windows and the fine eastern window. It contains some valuable ecclesiastical furniture dating from the sixteenth century. These interesting relics of the past consist of sixteen oaken seats, six of them with canopies, and all are artistically carved. On the floor of the choir three slabs of blue marble mark the graves of Margaret Drummond (who, it is alledged, was secretly married to James IV.) and her two sisters, the victims of a dark and mysterious tragedy at Drummond Castle. In the north wall is an effigy of a bishop, supposed to be that of Bishop Clement, but which tradition asserts to be Bishop Dermock. On this side also is a cusped door leading to the so-called chapter-house.

The first restoration of the cathedral took place in 1818, and, like the second in 1872, was of an imperfect character. The repairs of 1872 were confined to the choir and chapter-house, and at this time an organ was introduced, and the churchyard was levelled up. In 1884 a row of old houses, forming the west side of Kirk Street, was removed and a low wall with railing substituted, thus greatly improving the amenity of the place.

The restoration of the cathedral now completed is perfect, whether regarded from a utilitarian

or archaeological point of view. "Without the elaborate decoration of Melrose or of Roslin, it immeasurably excels them both in beauty of proportion, and depth and force of moulding"; and the restoration of this splendid and historic edifice forms a landmark in the history of our Scottish cathedrals. Great care and skill have been employed to trespass as little as possible in introducing new material, and to follow what was known of the original. Nothing has been done but what was absolutely necessary; the result is that the cathedral stands at the present time the beautiful structure it was three centuries ago. The interior of the nave is practically untouched, its weather-beaten pillars and walls being considered strong enough to support the handsome new oak roof. The roof is emblazoned with richly-coloured shields bearing the insignia and arms of illustrious personages, whose personal history is identified with that of the cathedral or with the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

Commencing with the eastmost of the seven lower bosses upon the north side are the escutcheons of the following:—

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Malise, Earl of Strathearn. | 5. Malise, Earl of Strathearn. |
| 2. Ferquhard, do. do.          | 6. Malise, do. do.             |
| 3. Gilbert, do. do.            | 7. Malise, do. do.             |
| 4. Robert, do. do.             |                                |

The middle of the roof has fifteen bosses, beginning at the west end:

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. King James III.  | 9. William and Mary. |
| 2. King James IV.   | 10. Queen Anne.      |
| 3. King James V.    | 11. George I.        |
| 4. Queen Mary.      | 12. King George II.  |
| 5. King James VI.   | 13. King George III. |
| 6. King Charles I.  | 14. King George IV.  |
| 7. King Charles II. | 15. William IV.      |
| 8. King James VII.  |                      |

and there is placed between the two points of the windows over the chancel arch the arms of Queen Victoria.

The bosses upon the south side, beginning with the westmost, are:

1. Maurice de Moray, Earl of Strathearn;
2. King Robert II.
3. David, Earl of Strathearn.
4. Euphemia, daughter of David.
5. Malise Graham, Earl of Strathearn.
6. King James I.
7. King James II.

The nave is also adorned with sixteen beautiful pendant gas coronas. The pulpit, a chaste and elegant design, is done in the style of the seventeenth century. Carved in niches round the front are statuettes and inlaid panels, the latter bearing designs symbolical of incidents in connection with the Crucifixion. Beginning at the right side of the pulpit stairs, the first figure is that of St Blane; next, David I., panel with Christ's garment and three dice (Luke xxiii. 24); third figure, Bishop Clement, panel with sacred monogram, I. H. S.; fourth figure, Earl of Strathearn, panel with crown of thorns and three nails; fifth figure, John Knox, panel bearing the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, alpha and omega; sixth figure, Bishop Leighton, panel bearing ladder, spear, and sponge; seventh and last figure, Principal Carstairs, a notable ecclesiastic of the reign of William and Mary. Carved on the panels round the front of the richly ornamented canopy is the text, "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." The brass lectern in front of the pulpit is of a beautiful design, and ornamented with artistically-executed figures representing symbolically the four Evangelists.

The choir, like the nave, has been re-roofed. The cross surmounting the east gable is very old—part is wanting—and, if tradition can be trusted, was mutilated by a shot from one of Cumberland's troopers. The walls previous to the restoration were plastered, but this has been replaced by a facing of ashlar. The floor is laid with tiles and marble. The fine eastern window, restored at a cost of £700 by Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart., Pollok, consists of a large central light, having on either side small lancets. The elaborate screen between the choir and nave is in the style of the Italian Renaissance, and is beautifully carved. On the east side of the screen are two statuettes—the one on the left representing John the Baptist, the other St Paul. On the west side of the screen are four—beginning on the right are Moses, David the Psalmist, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

The organ, a powerful instrument with a splendidly carved Gothic oak case, 40 feet in height, is placed on the north wall of the choir. The specification of the organ is by Dr A. L. Peace

of Glasgow, and the work was executed under his supervision—motive power is supplied by a double-cylinder rocking-lever hydraulic engine. The instrument, exclusive of the case, cost £1100, which sum was raised by the congregation. The case cost £700.

The cost of the restoration of the cathedral amounted to over £27,000; of this large sum the heritors contributed £3500. To Mrs Wallace of Glassingall is practically due the entire credit of the restoration, she having with rare munificence provided the large balance of the above sum, and her name will be deservedly associated with Dunblane Cathedral for all time coming.

The cathedral is now under the charge of the Board of Manufactures to be held in trust for the nation, subject to the right of being used as the Parish Church.

The process of restoration commenced in 1888, was practically completed in 1893, and a fitting musical service was held in the restored building on the 28th October.

The succession of bishops and clergy in the history of Dunblane Cathedral includes the names of not a few famous in national history.

So far as known the following is a list of the

#### PRE-REFORMATION BISHOPS.

Malise, .....	1150	William, .....	1353
Laurence, .....	1160	Walter de Cambuslang, ..	1362
Simon, .....	1170	Andrew, .....	1373
Jonathan, died .....	1210	Dougal Drummond, brother to Annabella, wife of Robert III.	
Abraham, chaplain to the Earl of Strathearn.		Finlay Dermock, ....	1406
William de Bosco.		William Stevenson, Professor of Divinity in St Andrew's University, ..	1419
Richard de Meremo.		Michael Ochiltree, .....	1429
Abraham, .....	1220	Robert Lauder, .....	1448
Rudulfus, elect.		Thomas, .....	1459
Osbert, Abbot of Cambrakenneth, died ....	1231	John Hepburn, .....	1471
Clement, 1233, died ....	1258	James Chisholm, .....	1481
Robert de Prebenda Alpin.		William Chisholm, ....	1527
William, .....	1290	William Chisholm, nephew to the last Bishop, ..	1564
Nicolas de Balmyle.			
Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, .....	1319		

Of the above the following were the most notable:—

Bishop Clement, the founder of the nave of the cathedral. During the term of office of this patriotic prelate the building assumed the fine

proportions which, partly destroyed by the too zealous Reformers, have now been restored by private munificence.

Maurice, 1319. This prelate, better known as the Abbot of Inchaffray, was a prominent ecclesiastic in the reign of King Robert the Bruce. At the Battle of Bonnockburn, as is well known to students of Scottish history, Abbot Maurice celebrated mass in the morning of that memorable day in front of the Scottish troops. In acknowledgment of the Abbott's services on that occasion King Robert bestowed on him the Bishopric of Dunblane.

Finlay Dermock, 1406. This ecclesiastic has left a substantial and useful memorial to his memory in the bridge which spans the Allan at Dunblane. The bridge built by Bishop Dermock in 1409 has done service for nearly five centuries; over its ancient arch have passed the most notable characters in Scottish history, and it has resounded to the tread of many a gallant army.

Bishop Ochiltree (1429), whose tomb, as already mentioned, is to be seen in the nave, added to the embellishment of the cathedral, and was notable as the prelate who crowned James II. at Holyrood on 25th March, 1437.

During the last period in which the Roman Catholic Church was predominant three bishops of the family of Chisholm of Cromlix held the see, and it was during their tenure of office that the cathedral suffered the loss of the greater part of its revenue. William Chisholm, the last of the pre-Reformation bishops, was a bitter opponent to the Reformation, and for his contumacy forfeited his bishopric, and fled to France. There is no doubt that in his flight he took with him many valuable documents relating to the affairs of the diocese.

#### POST-REFORMATION BISHOPS.

Andrew Graham,.....	1575.
George Graham,.....	1608.
Adam Bellenden,.....	1615.
James Wedderburn,.....	1636.
Robert Leighton,.....	1662.
James Ramsay,.....	1678.
Robert Douglas (deprived at the Revolution),..	1684.

Robert Leighton, the most distinguished of the Episcopalian bishops, a prelate whose memory to the present day is honoured by Episcopalian

and Presbyterian alike, was endowed with liberal principles far in advance of the age in which he lived, and his sermons—many of which are extant—bear witness to his evangelical views and scholarly attainments. His tenure of office in Dunblane was from 1662 to 1674, and during that period his exemplary life and deeds of benevolence earned for him the title of “the good bishop.” The walk leading from the east of the cathedral, along the bank of the Allan, to the slope of the Laighhills—now sadly wanting its former sylvan beauty—was the bishop’s favourite walk, and is still known as “The Bishop’s Walk.” That Dunblane had a strong hold on the bishop’s affections is testified by the valuable library he bequeathed “for the use of the clergy of the diocese of the Cathedral of Dunblane.” The house, situated at the cross, which contains the collection, was built by Mrs Lightmaker, a sister of the bishop, and has on the east wall a well-carved mitre. The library consists of a large and valuable selection of theological and classic works, and to the student and bibliophile the catalogue is attractive. A number of books have been lost, but upwards of 1200 of Leighton’s remain. The following list of some of the more important is taken from *Memoirs of Archbishop Leighton* :—

*Commentaries, &c.*—Ainsworth, Beza, Bolducius, Calvin (12 vols.), Capellus, Caryl, Dods, Fabricius, Fergusson (James), Grotius (12 vols.), Hammond, Heinsius, Helbart, Hutcheson, Leigh, Lemnius, Lightfoot, Dr Owen, Buxtorff (12 vols.), Erasmus (9 vols.), Philo-Judaeus, Stella, Toletus, Vicars, Savonarola.

*Sermons.*—Daille, Marmet, Smith (John), Ward, Andrews, &c.

*Devotional Works.*—F. de Sales, Donne, Draxellius (13 vols.), Gerhard, Thomas à Kempis, Spiritual and precious Pearl, Arndts (1666) bound up with Luther’s Hymn Book.

*Contemporaries, &c.*—Baxter (3), Lord Brook, Sir T. Browne, Bp. Burnet (8), Calderwood (D.), C. King, Digby, Forbes (2), Fuller, Gataker, Godwin (5), Gouge, Hales, Bp. Hall, Herbert (3), Howe, Sir G. Mackenzie, Hen. More, Sir T. More, Pascal, Patrick, S. Rutherford (3), Rous, Scougal (H.), Selden, Sibbes, Stillingfleet, Symson, Taylor

(Jeremy) (14), Thorndyke (4), Twiss, Usher (4), Walton, Wotton.

The Bishop's Palace, of which a fragment of the ruins still remains, occupied a site on the south side of the cathedral.

There are still remaining one or two houses notable as having been the residences of clergy connected with the cathedral.

The seal of the Burgh of Dunblane is distinctly of ecclesiastical origin, and must have been in pre-Reformation times connected with the Dunblane diocese. The brass matrix has disappeared, but it is said to have been in the collection of the late Rev. Dr Jamieson. In Laing's *Scottish Seals* (1., p. 203) the seal is described as follows: "A figure of St Laurence on the dexter side, with a clasped book in his right hand. On his left, or the sinister, a bishop (St Blane) mitred and robed, his right hand raised, his left hand holding the crozier, both standing within a double niche, or porch of a church."

The Cathedral Churchyard contains few tombstones of interest. The figure four is not infrequent, and puzzles the inquirer. The figure is supposed to represent the four crosses of Dunblane, viz., Kippencross (now Kippenross), Whitecross, Anchorscross, and Crosscaplie (Corsecaplie).

#### THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH SINCE 1688.

One of our most distinguished ecclesiastical historians has written that it is difficult to form a conception of the state of the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland in the period succeeding the Reformation. This remark truthfully applies to the Dunblane Parish Church after Bishop Douglas was deposed. For four years—viz., 1688-92—the charge appears to have been vacant. On the 6th September, 1692, the Rev. Michael Potter, A.M., was presented to and occupied the charge for the period of twenty-six years. How this rev. gentleman fared during the Jacobite broils, which were at their worst during his pastorate, would be interesting if we knew the details. The Battle of Sheriffmuir was fought in his time, but of that momentous Sunday, the 13th November, 1715, the only local record is that there was no service in the Cathedral on that

eventful day. The Rev. Mr Potter, who had been originally minister of Bo'ness, died in November, 1718 in his 76th year. A son of his occupied the, distinguished position of Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. The Rev. Archibald Gibson, A.M., succeeded Mr Potter, and was ordained 18th August, 1719. He held the charge until the 11th April, 1728, at which time he accepted the pastorate of the church at St Ninians.

The Rev. William Simson was the next incumbent, and was inducted on the 25th June, 1730. Held office for 35 years. Mr Simson, previous to his call to Dunblane, was minister of Foulis Wester, in which parish he was highly popular, and when it was rumoured amongst the people that the Dunblane congregation were meditating a call to Mr Simson, and that a deputation from the "Cathedral City" was to attend on a certain Sunday, watchmen were stationed at the church doors to examine intruders, but apparently without avail, as the deputation reported favourably on Mr Simson's preaching. In 1737, the clergy of the Established Church were enjoined by the Government to read the obnoxious Porteous Act from their pulpits. Some refused. Amongst those who complied was Mr Simson, and in consequence he incurred for a time an amount of unpopularity. We have authentic tradition that he was a man of singular amiability, and, what was remarkable for a Presbyterian minister of that disturbed time, he favoured the House of Stuart as the legitimate heirs to the throne. That, despite his Jacobite leanings, he was possessed of strong common-sense was evinced by his conduct on the retreat of Prince Charles after the abortive siege of Stirling Castle and the approach of the Government forces. On the 4th February, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland and his army advanced towards Dunblane. Acting on the advice of Mr Simson and Bailie Russell, the townspeople met the Duke on "The Skellie Braes," about half a mile to the south of the Cathedral City, and greeted His Royal Highness with such loyal demonstrations that the Duke expressed his satisfaction on receiving such a hearty welcome at his first halting-place on the unfriendly side of Stirling Bridge. Mr Simson died 17th October, 1755.

The Rev. John Robertson, Mr Simson's successor, was ordained 12th May, 1757. The presentation of this clergyman to the charge was unfortunate for the interests of the Established Church, and was the cause of a large accession to the limited ranks of the local seceders, and enabled the latter to proceed with the erection of a church. The unpopularity of Mr Robertson was due to bodily infirmity, and his presentation called forth vigorous protests from the elders and people against his ordination. A petition stated that "they neither heard nor understood him by the forced rise and sudden fall of his voice; that only thirty, and these chiefly boys and girls, went back the second Sabbath to hear him preach." Mr Robertson, whatever may have been his defects as a preacher, has left an enduring memorial of his ministry in Dunblane in his contribution, conjointly with the Rev. Robert Stirling, to that invaluable work, Sir Robert Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland. The volume relating to Dunblane is in the catalogue of the local library. Mr Robertson began his career as minister of Luss. He retained the Dunblane charge for 39 years, and died 23rd June, 1795.

The Rev. Robert Stirling, A.M., who succeeded Mr Robertson, was ordained assistant and successor 2nd June, 1791. Mr Stirling was a son of the "Cathedral City," being born in Dunblane, 13th November, 1765, and was minister of the parish of Dunblane for 22 years. With his pastorate disappeared two curious usages of olden times, viz., the hour glass and the dead bell. The modern sermon, if extended beyond thirty minutes, is apt to excite impatience, but ninety years ago—even less—an audience in the Cathedral bore with stoical patience a discourse of more than double that time. The pulpit of Dunblane Cathedral in Mr Stirling's time was provided with a sand glass, which takes exactly one hour to run (we write in the present tense, as the glass is still extant). The "Dead Bell" is noticed elsewhere. Mr Stirling died 17th October, 1817, in his 52nd year.

The Rev. Robert Grierson, A.M., succeeded Mr Stirling, being ordained to the charge, 16th July, 1818. Mr Grierson had previously been minister of Dunning. On the 26th January, 1836,

the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by the University of Glasgow. During the first year of Mr Grierson's ministry, the choir of the Cathedral, the only covered portion of the building until the restoration of 1872, was made more comfortable, and the "Soldier's Gallery" at the east gable removed. Mr Grierson died 21st August, 1840, aged 48. Rev. William MacKenzie, ordained 30th March, 1841, joined Free Church 24th May, 1843. Rev. James Boe, 1844. Rev. James Ingram, 1861. Rev. John Barclay, 1869. Rev. David Morrison. Rev. Alex. Ritchie.

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### THE LAKE OF MENTEITH AND ITS VICINITY.\*

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In the "varied realms of fair Menteith," poets and prose-writers have before now found attractive subjects for the exercise of their imagination and their powers of description. "Inchmahome," published in the early part of the century, is a poem in the metre which Sir Walter Scott made so popular, and it is related by the late Mr Peter Dun, in "Up and Down in the Lennox," that Scott himself had originally intended to make the Lake of Menteith the scene of his "Lady of the Lake," but on hearing that the minister of the Port was engaged on a poetical work on Inchmahome, he chose Loch Katrine instead. It is not, however, the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling's poetry, smooth and correct though its versification be, that gives interest or value to "Inchmahome." It is the learned and elaborate "Notes" which contain much of that kind of information which its scholarly author was so well qualified to impart. More purely historical is the late Sir William Fraser's account of the Menteith district in his "Red Book of Menteith," compiled for the most part from sources so authentic that no succeeding writer can afford to disregard it. But the limited number published of Fraser's book, and the high price it

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\* THE LAKE OF MENTEITH: ITS ISLANDS AND VICINITY. With a Historical Account of the Priory of Inchmahome and the Earldom of Menteith. By A. F. Hutchison, M.A. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1899.

commands, must always confine it to the libraries of a few. When we mention Dun's "Summer at the Lake of Monteith," in which romance and legend are made to do duty for sober history, and Mr Cunninghame Graham's picturesquely-written "Notes on the District of Monteith," which, as he says himself, though intended for tourists and others, was not penned for the benefit of mankind, or to increase knowledge, we think we have noticed all the Monteith-inspired books of any consequence which have preceded the History of the Lake of Monteith and its vicinity recently given to the world by Mr A. F. Hutchison, and published by Mr E. Mackay in a form befitting the most important historical work which has issued from the local press since the publication, in 1817, of Mr Macgregor Stirling's edition of Nimmo's "History of Stirlingshire."

After all, it is only a small part of the Monteith district with which Mr Hutchison's work deals, and while grateful for what the author has done, we hope he will next turn his attention to Aberfoyle, with the lovely Loch Ard and valley of the Forth; to Doune, with its ancient stronghold of the Dukes of Albany, afterwards part of the dowry of the Queens of Scotland; and to Callandresth (now Callander) with the intervening Vale of Teith. A wide extent of picturesque Scotland lies waiting for a historian, and we know of none better qualified than Mr Hutchison, who shows in the work before us the ability, not only to assimilate and connect in an interesting way the information gathered by others, but an amount of industry in original research, and a spirit of fairness and impartiality in judging of men and narrating events, which mark him out as the fittest for such a task. Meantime, however, we must confine ourselves to the volume which, to our regret, has lain too long unnoticed on our library table, the columns of the *Sentinel* being of late so crowded with war news that no space has been left for literature.

Beginning with the topography of Monteith, Mr Hutchison discusses the origin of the name, and decides in favour of its meaning being either the hill-land, moorland, or back-land of Taich, or Teith, expressing a preference for *Monadh-Thearich*—the hill-land of Teith—as the most

likely original of the word "Menteith." In noting the legends connected with the district, our author includes in this category the statement of George Buchanan that Menteith was the scene of the murder of Duncan II. in 1094. That historian, it appears, confounded *Monadh-Theavich* with *Monathecin*, the Gaelic name of a place now called Monynes, in the Mearns, and the error, although pointed out by Chalmers, has been repeated in quite recent works. The hills of Menteith and some of their traditions are the subject of an interesting section, and then the author draws closer to the Lake, giving particulars of the Port, surely the most curious burgh of barony that was ever erected. "The cross of the burgh is said to have been the trunk of an old hawthorn tree which stood by the lake side opposite the manse, and was known as the 'law tree.'" Mr Hutchison's ecclesiastical notices of the parish of Port include a brief biography of the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling, to whose antiquarian researches subsequent writers have been greatly indebted. In addition to the works credited to Mr Stirling, we may mention that he is reputed to have been the author of the history of Clan Gregor prefixed to the first edition of Chambers's "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," and he certainly collected a vast mass of information relating to the clan, which was not in a form ready for publication at the time of his death, but which is now being utilised in a new history of the Macgregors, compiled at the request of the Clan Gregor Society. In point of fact, Mr Stirling was really a Macgregor, the name Stirling being assumed by his ancestors, just as Drummond, &c., was assumed by others of the clan, when the name of Macgregor was proscribed. We have also been told that no small part of the contents of the late Robert Chambers's "Traditions of Edinburgh" was probably the work of Mr Macgregor Stirling. It is pathetic to find Mr Stirling's name mentioned in one of Professor Masson's prefaces to the Register of the Privy Council as a copying clerk in the Register House, without a word as to his position in the world of letters, the learned editor being apparently not aware that the clerk in question was one of the most zealous and accomplished antiquaries of his time.

The shores of the Lake of Menteith are described by Mr Hutchison with great minuteness, and in connection with the eastern shore, he has occasion to mention Rednock, and the family of Graham, the founder of which built the fine old castle now in ruins. As our author remarks, Rednock figures prominently in a recent claim to the earldom of Menteith, which thorny subject he wisely avoids, but we can have no hesitation in stating that we have elsewhere proved that the Gilbert Graham from whom the claimant derives his descent was never "of Rednock," his sole connection with that estate being his tenancy of part of it under Hume of Argaty. We shall have something to say on this matter when we come to review the genealogical chapters of the present work. "The Lake and the Islands" is the title of an admirable chapter of description, the beauty of which is only equalled by its accuracy. With regard to the meaning of "Inchmahome," the name of the largest island, Mr Hutchison rejects with reason Mr Macgregor Stirling's poetical "Isle of my Rest," which that scholar himself admitted could not be maintained, and considers that the island takes its name from St Colman or St Colmoc, to whom its earliest church would appear to have been dedicated. Colmoc is an endearing diminutive of Colman, and we have in Stirling another example of this habit of the kindly Celts in St Maruock—the dear little Maru—whose chapel stood near the Old Bridge. "The Nuns' Walk" and "Nuns' Hill" on Inchmahome, Mr Hutchison says, can have nothing to do with nuns, of whom there were none on the island, but if not mere modern fancies, are probably derived from Nones, a devotional exercise to which the monks were summoned two hours after dinner. Queen Mary's Garden and Queen Mary's Bower, of course, come in for a good deal of attention, and Mr Hutchison is at pains to point out that these favourite resorts of the tourist could neither have been made by nor for the hapless Queen of Scots. "She was brought too hurriedly to the island to permit the construction of a little garden expressly for her use; and as she was but a baby, four years and nine months old, her own little hands were not yet fit for making bowers, or even for much playing at gardening. Neither, it is to be

hoped, were 'the holy men' so cruel as to set her lessons at that tender age. And it must be added further, that she was not more than three weeks altogether on the island, and that at a season of the year not generally the most propitious for flower-gardening in this climate." In a later chapter Mr Hutchison returns to the subject—"That the short space of three weeks was the whole time spent by Mary at Inchmahome has been proved by Dr Hay Fleming in his recent careful and accurate biography of Queen Mary," a work, he adds in a note, of thorough research and extreme accuracy. It was, perhaps, to be expected that this statement of fact, dissipating as it does the pleasant little fables of Miss Strickland, Sheriff Glassford Bell, and other writers, would not be allowed to pass unchallenged by the critics, and the reviewer of Mr Hutchison's volume in the *Perthshire Advertiser* may be mentioned as one who refuses to be convinced. It is not usual for one reviewer to notice the opinions of another, but as this is a matter of some importance, and considerable local interest, we may take the liberty of quoting the critic's remarks and replying thereto as well as we can. In our contemporary's *critique*, which appeared on 20th September last, the writer says:—

Queen Mary was also connected with it [Inchmahome], and spent six months there. On this point the author is slightly incorrect. His verdict that she spent three weeks only is given on the authority of Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and Dr Hay Fleming. These are not sufficient authorities as against Miss Strickland, Hill Burton, and others. But even on Lesley's authority she was there till the Englishmen were departed from Scotland. The author says the Englishmen "crossed the Tweed on their return home on the 29th of same month" (September, 1547). It was Lord Somerset, the English commander, who crossed the Tweed on that date, not the English forces at all. The English remained a considerable time in Scotland after that date. In the State Paper Office there is evidence of this, *e.g.*, March, 1548. There is a paper of this date entitled, "Duke of Somerset's instructions to Lord Grey for the fortifications and furnishing

of Lauder, Haddington, &c., and to burn as much corn and houses beyond Musselburgh Water as he can." That Queen Mary was at Inchmahome from September, 1547, to February, 1548, we think is sufficiently proved by our best historians. She was taken there after the battle of Pinkie in case the English would follow up their victory by stealing her. There is no evidence that she returned to Stirling at this period. Lord Grey's letter quoted by the author is dated in the State Paper Office from "Cockburnspath," and Inchmahome is so close to Stirling that Lord Grey might very naturally think she was removed from Stirling, while in point of fact it was the neighbourhood of Stirling.

It will be seen from the above that the modern writers relied on by the critic as being better authorities than Bishop Lesley, who was a contemporary of Queen Mary's, and Dr Hay Fleming, who has devoted years to the study of the unfortunate Queen's career, are Miss Strickland and Hill Burton. Now, Miss Strickland gives no authority whatever for her statement that Mary's stay at Inchmahome extended to several months, but as she refers in a general way to Chalmers' "Caledonia," it is not improbable, as Mr Hutchison observes, that she proceeded on that author's assertion (vol. iii., p. 881) that the Queen remained there until she was taken to Dumbarton in February, 1548. Chalmers, it should be said, gives no authority either in his "Caledonia" or in his "Life of Mary" for this assertion, and it is not at all likely that he would have made such an assertion had he known of the distinct statement in Bishop Lesley's then unpublished vernacular "History of Scotland," which is much fuller in its details than his Latin one. Lesley, it should be remembered, was not only the Queen's contemporary, but was long her trusted agent and adviser, and on such a point as this he could have no temptation to misrepresent the dates. As for Hill Burton, the critic would oblige by citing the passage he regards as an authority, for as far as we can find from the revised edition of Burton's "History of Scotland" (vol. iii., pp. 275-277), that historian, so far from giving any proof that Queen Mary remained six months on Inchmahome, does

not even say how long she was there ! Turning now to the older authorities, who are cited with some show of learning, it is said that Bishop Lesley's statement that the Queen was kept at Inchmahome till the Englishmen were departed furth of Scotland, does not refer to the departure of the English forces on the 29th of September, as it was only Lord Somerset, their commander, who crossed the Tweed on that day ! It may be doubted whether the critic, in penning his review, took the trouble of turning up Bishop Lesley's narrative, for no one reading it can have any doubt of his meaning. He says (p. 201), that on the 20th September, "*the hoill Inglis hoist*" came before Hume Castle, which was rendered on the 22nd of September to Somerset, "who, leaving a garesoun of men with Sir Eduart Dudley to kepe it, removed to Roxburgh, quhair within the compas of ane auld ruinous hous they began to beild a fort, thair *hoill army* remayning still together in wirking about it till the xxix of September, and leaving Sir Rauf Boulmer capitane thair, with thre hundreth men, the Duke of Somersett retiret in Ingland and *brak up his army*." Patten, another contemporary writer, gives, in his "Expedicion into Scotland," the very same day for the removal of the English army from Scotland—the 29th of September. The reviewer must be hopelessly muddled when he says—"It was Lord Somerset, the English commander, who crossed the Tweed on that date, not the English forces at all." It is ridiculous to suppose that Somerset crossed the Tweed without his army, because in that case he would have had no army to break up ; and Patten, who kept a daily journal of the proceedings, tells how, on the night of the 28th of September, the English camp was warned that it was to be dissolved next day, and how every man fell to packing apace. He also expatiates on the difficulties and dangers experienced by the English army in fording the swollen Tweed on the 29th of September. Lesley does not mean that the Queen remained at Inchmahome until every Englishman had crossed the Border, for not a few remained until and after she was safe in France. The reference of the reviewer to Somerset's instructions

to Lord Grey for fortifications, &c., at Lauder, Haddington, &c., in March, 1548, is taken from Thorpe's "Calendar," i., 84, and does not help him in the least, for Lealey says (p. 202) that it was "*some efter the retering of the Inglis army within Ingland*" that "the Protectour send ane company of souldesouris, with Sir Hew Willoughbie thair capitaine, and biged ane forthe at Lauder." The "Diurnal of Occurents" (p. 46), also tells that Lord Grey came with an army to Haddington in February, 1547-1548. The dates of the documents in Thorpe's "Calendar" show the route and the progress of Grey's expedition. He writes from Tynemouth on 16th February, from Warkworth on the 17th, from Alnwick on the 19th, from Berwick on the 20th and 21st, from Cockburn's Path on the 22nd, and from Haddington on the 23rd. It is in his letter from Cockburn's Path that he mentions the removal of the Queen "from Stirling to Dumbarton by fear of his invasion." Yet the reviewer wishes to make out that it was not from Stirling but from Inchmahome that she was removed at this time, because, forsooth, Lord Grey, being at Cockburn's Path, could not distinguish between them! On the face of it, the natural explanation is that the Queen had been brought back to Stirling, and when the rumour of Lord Grey's approach was known she was despatched to Dumbarton. Had she then been at Inchmahome she would probably have been allowed to remain there, where she had been safe before. It is clear from the whole evidence that Mr Hutchison was perfectly justified in considering that Dr Hay Fleming had proved that Queen Mary's residence at Inchmahome was only for three weeks, and it may be surmised, without any wish to give offence, that his Perth critic has no more than a hearsay acquaintance with the writers, ancient and modern, whom he so glibly refers to by name. Authors who take the trouble Mr Hutchison has done to verify their statements, have a right to expect that critics who call these statements in question shall at least show that they know something about the subject on which they offer a contrary opinion. In this case the critic has merely convicted himself of inexcusable ignorance.

Mr Hutchison's four chapters on the ruined buildings on the islands in the Lake of Menteith are deserving of high praise, if only on account of the industry shown by the author in collecting from every known source references which throw new light on their history. The account of the Priory of Inchmahome is specially good. From his personal observation, Mr Hutchison has been able to correct the mistakes of previous writers in regard to the original purpose of the remains still visible, and it is worthy of notice that his descriptions are confirmed in all essential points by the high professional authority of the authors of the "Ecclesiastical and Baronial Architecture of Scotland." The history of the Priory under its early Priors is evidently the result of much laborious investigation, and when we mention that in addition to the five Priors whose names are given by Fraser in the "Red Book of Menteith," Mr Hutchison has discovered other three, the thoroughness with which this part of his work has been written will be apparent. An interesting narrative is given of the events, historical and conventual, which occurred under the various Priors, and in the following chapters the history of the Priory is continued with notices of the Commandators who took the place of the old ecclesiastical superiors. The first of these was Robert Erskine, and Sir W. Fraser, with characteristic laxity, assumes that this was the Master of Erskine who fell on the field of Pinkiecleuch. Mr Hutchison, not satisfied with bare assumptions, has inquired into the facts, and he adduces a good deal of indirect evidence which goes to prove that Fraser was mistaken, the first Commandator of Inchmahome being the rector of Glenbervy, who was probably a younger son of John Erskine of Dun, who was killed at Flodden. The inference from the facts, Mr Hutchison remarks, seems to be this, that the Lord Erskine to whom James the Fifth is said to have given the patronage of the Priory of Inchmahome, put the rector of Glenbervy into the Commandatorship to keep the place warm for his third son, John, who—as a younger son with two elder brothers between him and the succession to his father—was being educated for the Church, and eventually succeeded Commandator Erskine, who probably

received the Deanery of Aberdeen in compensation for the loss of Inchmahome. Mr Hutchison is also able to correct the statements of the older writers in regard to the connection of the famous George Buchanan with Cardross in the time of the first Commendator of the Priory, and he questions the accuracy of the assertion usually made in biographies of the illustrious Scotsman, that he received his education in the schools of Killearn and Dumbarton. The probability is that he was sent to the Grammar School of Stirling, of which institution his nephew, Thomas Buchanan, was afterwards Rector. It was in the time of John Erskine, second Commendator of Inchmahome, that Queen Mary was taken to the island, and Mr Hutchison is no doubt right in attributing the selection of this beautiful spot, not so much to its security from assault, for indeed it could have offered only a poor defence, as to the desire of Lord Erskine, one of the Queen's guardians, to keep her among his own relatives and friends. Of course, the vicinity of this island retreat to the fastnesses of the Highland hills was also a recommendation. When the danger of a siege of Stirling Castle was past, the little Queen was brought back from Inchmahome, and there can scarcely be a doubt that it was in Stirling she remained until her removal to Dumbarton in February, 1548. There is, therefore, the satisfaction of knowing that although the statement that Queen Mary stayed six months at Inchmahome can no longer be maintained, she continued to reside in the Stirling district until it was considered advisable to send her over to France. With the Reformation came the dilapidation of the revenues of the Priory of Inchmahome, the greedy Erskines being, of course, the chief plunderers, and the church and conventual buildings gradually fell into a ruinous state. The subsequent history of the Priory lands is narrated in an appendix to Chapter VI., which shows how, out of part of them, the lordship of Cardross was erected, and the Erskine Earls of Buchan flourished on the property which once maintained the monastery of Inchmahomock. The Castle of Inchtalla, which was built on the second largest island in the Lake of Menteith, as a residence for the first Graham Earl of Menteith, is described in

detail by Mr Hutchison. By the time it came to be occupied by the last Earl, its glory had departed, and since his death in 1694, the house of Talla has not been inhabited, but has been left to neglect and decay. We cannot but think it far from creditable to the ducal house of Montrose, who are now owners of the Lake of Menteith, that its islands, so interesting from their historical and ecclesiastical associations, and the relics of a bygone age which they contain, should be allowed to remain in a condition which excites the indignation of every Scotsman who has any love or veneration for the ancient landmarks of his country.

Our author devotes a chapter to the earlier Earldom of Menteith, an obscure subject which awaits a thorough examination. Mr Hutchison seems to share the opinion of Riddell, Fraser, and others that one of the brothers Maurice, who were successively Earls of Menteith in the thirteenth century, was probably illegitimate, but as this idea is based on nothing more substantial than the fact that the two brothers bore the same name, it may be regarded as extremely doubtful. The probability is, rather, that both brothers were legitimate, but had different mothers. It is wrong to suppose that even brothers-german living at the same time could not have the same Christian name, and from this error we are persuaded that opinions, and even legal judgments in succession cases, have sometimes been erroneous, and perhaps unjust. It would be more correct to say that it was by no means uncommon for a father who wished to secure a successor with a particular name to have more sons than one christened by that name with that object in view, and it is a fact that at the present day there is an Irish Peer who has no fewer than five sons of the same name, while in the English aristocracy other examples of the practice may be found. In the Roman Catholic Church, it must be remembered, it is, or was, allowable to change a Christian name at confirmation. The Menteith, Comyn, and Stewart Earls are duly noticed by Mr Hutchison. Unfortunately, the seal of Alexander, the second Stewart Earl, has been inserted, apparently by a printer's error, after the notice of Alexander, the second Graham Earl, and we observe that a

would-be critic of our author charges him with not knowing the Stewart fess chequy from the Graham escallops. Notwithstanding his disclaimer of heraldic knowledge, we make bold to say that Mr Hutchison is better informed on the subject than his critic, whose heraldic atrocities are the laughing-stock of competent judges. The "fause Menteith," who was the brother of Earl Alexander, is somewhat leniently dealt with by Mr Hutchison. Recent investigations tend to confirm the popular belief that Menteith was the betrayer of Sir William Wallace, and no subsequent service to Robert the Bruce can wipe out the foul stain upon his memory. Fraser's attempt to whitewash Sir John was a failure, and Menteith's name, to which, by the way, he had no right, will doubtless continue to be execrated by all patriotic Scotsmen.

Coming to the Graham Earls of Menteith, Mr Hutchison has written with commendable caution, any mistakes he has made arising from his following too closely Macgregor Stirling and Fraser, and attaching too much importance to the lucubrations of the champion of the Canadian claimant to the Earldom of Menteith. This conceited Englishman, who has kindly condescended to instruct our genealogists in the history of Scottish families, has not evinced any gratitude for the attention paid to his theories and inventions in the volume before us, for he presumes to correct errors which do not exist, and blames the author for his ignorance of discoveries which have not yet been revealed to the waiting world. He puts an erroneous interpretation upon a kindly reference to the present writer in Mr Hutchison's Preface, and we may take this opportunity of saying that we now regret we did not put Mr Hutchison on his guard against accepting or repeating any statements made by a pedigree-maker who has shifted his ground so often, and has been so clearly proved to be an ignoramus, or worse, in his Menteith concoctions. We studiously refrained from doing more than pointing out one or two of the more glaring blunders committed by Sir W. Fraser in the "Red Book of Menteith," but if it had been at all a proper thing to intrude our conclusions into another author's work, that work being admittedly non-controversial,

the self-advertising critic would have had some cause for crying out. Mr Hutchison is taken to task for saying that no formal claim to the Menteith titles has been made on behalf of the Grahams of Leitchtown, and that the claims of Gartmore are seemingly favoured by other expert genealogists. To call Mr Easton an expert genealogist—at least, in regard to the Menteith Grahams—is a compliment which is entirely undeserved. He may be an expert, but it is in something much less respectable than genealogy. Nobody but an amateur would haggle as Mr Easton does over the use of the word “claim,” especially as an impudent appeal to the Queen, lodged at the Home Office, is perhaps the most ludicrous claim to a peerage that was ever made. It is the fact that no formal claim has been made by Mr Easton’s client, while the Gartmore objections to the claim of Mrs Barclay-Allardice, as stated before the Committee of Privileges in 1871, really constitute more legal grounds for a claim on behalf of that branch than any informal petition to Her Majesty could instruct on behalf of the Grahams of Leitchtown. But it will be observed that Mr Hutchison speaks of the Gartmore claims in a general sense, and it was not worth while for his critic to raise the quibble he does. It is a curious thing that the Leitchtown claim, which, according to its supporter, no genealogist whatsoever has attacked, is at the present moment in the position of having been disproved to the evident satisfaction of Mr Easton himself, who has apparently thrown up the sponge. Somehow or other, the “undoubted and uncontrovertible right” has failed to establish itself against the criticisms of the people Mr Easton thinks himself qualified to instruct in Scottish genealogy.

We observe that in his allusion to the creation of the Earldom of Airth, to which the Earldom of Menteith was annexed in 1633, Mr Hutchison omits to notice that the new creation was to William, seventh Earl of Menteith, “and his heirs.” The fact that there was no limitation to heirs-male is important in view of the contention that under the charter heirs of line are entitled to succeed, and must be held to modify Mr Hutchison’s statement on page 334 that “the

Barclay-Allardice claim assumed that the dignities of Airth and Menteith were descendible through females, while the others proceeded on the understanding—which, having regard to the charter of Earl Malise, seems really to be the case—that they were limited to heirs-male." By a slip at page 200, Mr Hutchison says the seventh Earl was deprived of his only son by the dagger of the assassin, but at page 306 he correctly states that this Earl had six sons and four daughters. To Mr Barclay-Allardice, F.S.A. Scot., belongs the credit of establishing the existence of three of the sons whom Sir W. Fraser seemed to think were an invention of Sir Harris Nicolas, although he includes one of them—Charles—in his genealogical tables. A bond of provision, published by Mr Barclay-Allardice in *Notes and Queries* for November 14th, 1896, contains the names of all the six sons of the Earl and two of his daughters who were unmarried at the date of the deed, 28th June, 1632. This information has been used by Mr Easton as if he had discovered it himself, and there is, therefore, all the more reason why it should be attributed to the proper person. Mr Hutchison, following Fraser, says Anne, the Earl's third daughter, married Sir Mungo Murray of Blebo, but we have seen no proof of this marriage and take leave to doubt it. The chequered career of the eighth Earl of Menteith is sympathetically narrated by our author, who describes how the Menteith estates passed into the hands of the Marquis of Montrose. The barony of Kilpont, however, it should be noted, was excluded from this arrangement, and was left by the Earl to his nephew, Sir George Allardice. Mr Hutchison gives an impartial account of the murder of Lord Kilpont by Stewart of Ardvorlich, a tragedy which has never been satisfactorily explained. In the last chapter of this valuable volume, the author treats of some miscellaneous matters of greater or less interest. Here we find the story of the Beggar Earl, and two local legends, one of which, entitled "Rival Long-bows," has taken such a hold on the popular mind that no collection of Scottish anecdotes is considered complete without it, and even the London almanacks are repeating it. We find it, for example, in Cassell's Illustrated Almanack for the current year.

Another story belonging to the same category, but which has not been published, we may briefly relate. When the Earls of Menteith and Montrose were arranging about the succession to the Menteith estates, they dined together in Talla, and after dinner an agreement was drawn up whereby each bound himself to leave his property to the survivor. After being signed and duly witnessed, the deed was placed for safe custody in a recess in the wall. The potations celebrating the occasion were so deep that next morning neither of the parties to the agreement could remember what was done with it, and a search proved fruitless. On the death of the Earl of Menteith, his butler, named Blair, called on the Marquis of Montrose, and informed him that he knew where the deed was, and would produce it for a consideration. The Marquis promised Blair and his heirs the best farm on the Menteith estate, and the butler chose Chapelarroch, which was possessed by him and his descendants, not on any written charter, but rather as kindly tenants under the Montrose family. The present Gartmore carrier is said to be a descendant of the lucky butler. Of course, this legend is quite opposed to the facts connected with the transfer of the Menteith estates, but we may mention that we have come across in an authentic document the name of Blair as "officer" to the last Earl of Menteith.

We trust our review of Mr Hutchison's book has at least indicated the interesting nature of its contents, as well as the research which gives it a permanent value and authority as the best book on the Menteith district. It only remains to add that the publisher has spared no expense in the embellishment of the volume, which contains a large number of illustrations by Mr Walter Bain, Stirling, some of them very pleasing to the eye, and others not so happy. With more practice in black-and-white, which is an art by itself, Mr Bain may expect to succeed better in book illustration.

Ed.

THE LOYAL STIRLING VOLUNTEERS.

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1800—1804.

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The closing year of the present century is disturbed by war, and the same was the case exactly a hundred years ago, when the great Napoleon was at the height of his power. The threat of an invasion of Great Britain had the effect of calling up an immense army of Volunteers in defence of hearth and home, and Stirling was not behind in contributing to the new force, although the fact seems to have escaped the notice of our most industrious collector of old stories. Fortunately there has been preserved, almost miraculously, the Minute Book of the Committee of Officers who managed the local corps of Loyal Volunteers. This book was found some years since among the *débris* of an old house in the Raploch which had been taken down, and happily it fell into the hands of an enthusiastic Rifle Volunteer—ex-Sergeant A. Roxburgh, "B" Coy.—who kindly gave us the use of it. The present is an opportune time for publishing the contents of the manuscript volume, and we have no doubt they will interest our readers, a few of whom may find the names of their fathers or grandfathers in the rolls contained in the Minute Book of 1800-1804. The re-embodiment of the Loyal Volunteers in 1803 was a great event in history, no fewer than 463,000 men springing to arms against the foe. We find that on the 19th July of that year, the Town Council, as a mark of their high esteem and regard for the Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, unanimously agreed to present them with a handsome stand of colours of the value of twenty guineas. It would be interesting to learn whether the colours of the Volunteers are still in existence. The Council's kindness did not stop here. On the 8th October the Provost was empowered to subscribe £10 10s from the town funds towards defraying the expense of greatcoats and knapsacks for the Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, to enable them to take the field, "as they have been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to hold themselves in readi-

ness." As Patrons of the various Hospitals, the Council also paid a levy of £4 sterling on every £100 Scots of valuation of the Hospital lands, for clothing and equipping the Eastern and Western Battalion of Volunteers. It was this military activity which led to the formation of our spacious Castle Esplanade. On the 30th June, 1804, the Town Council having considered a letter from Captain Henry Evot, commanding the Royal Engineers in North Britain, addressed to the Provost, unanimously agreed that the Government might level the open ground in front of the drawbridge or entry to the Castle for a parade for the troops to exercise upon, provided always that the ground should remain open and unenclosed, and that the public should be allowed to walk upon it as formerly. It was not, however, till some time after that the Esplanade was formed as we now see it. There can be no doubt the embodiment of such a vast army of Volunteers prevented Napoleon from attempting to carry out his designs upon this country, but the patriotism of the people received small thanks from the Government after the death of Pitt, for the Volunteers were disbanded, the Whig Secretary for War styling them "a mass of imbecility!" We trust the Volunteers of 1900 will not meet with the same ingratitude from the political descendants of the Whigs of a century ago.

**BOOK KEPT BY THE OFFICERS OF THE CORPS  
OF LOYAL STIRLING VOLUNTEERS AS THE  
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.**

Follows a copy of the original inrollment, with the subscriptions, in the order in which they were specified, in the double laid before His Grace the Duke of Montrose, Lord Lieutenant of the County.

Stirling, 5th March, 1800.

We, subscribers, hereby enrol, as members of the new Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, under the following regulations, viz. :—

1. The Corps to be embodied under the Acts of Parliament, 34th George the 3rd, Cap. 31, and to be called the Loyal Stirling Volunteers, and to consist of three companies, forty men each, at the

least, besides non-commissioned officers and drummers. The whole to be commanded by a Field Officer, with Captains, First and Second Lieutenants, as Government shall be pleased to allow.

2. The officers to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and all vacancies filled up by him.

3. The non-commissioned officers to be appointed by the Commanding Officer.

4. The enrolments, together with the private affairs of the Corps, to be under the management of the Commissioned Officers, five to be a quorum.

5. Those who intend to enrol will give in their names to the Secretary, and the Officers will meet to examine offers, and accept or reject as they may see cause.

6. The condition of service is that the Corps shall serve in the town of Stirling and neighbourhood, except in the event of actual invasion or imminent danger thereof, in which cases the Corps is then to serve in the Military District in which Stirling is situated.

7. The Corps to receive arms and accoutrements from His Majesty, and each individual will provide himself with clothing. Whatever allowances Government may be pleased to give in name of pay and clothing to be applied, first, to the expense of each individual's uniform, and afterwards to the Contingent Fund, which shall be under the management of the officers.

8. The discipline, times of exercise, and field days, complimentary parades, &c., shall be with the Commanding Officer, and each Volunteer, when ordered, shall appear under arms in the uniform of the Corps, and, while at exercise, observe the most profound silence, pay all due respect to the officers, and obey orders without reply.

9. Each Volunteer to be entrusted with his arms, which he must constantly keep clean and fit for service, and if the Commanding Officer of the Company shall find them otherwise, he may order them to be sent to the Armourer at the expense of the individual.

10. When a Volunteer has occasion to be from home a considerable time, he must signify his intention to the Commanding Officer of his

Company, and, if required, deliver up his arms till his return.

11. Any act of impiety, immorality, or disloyalty, at any time or in any place whatever, and any degree of turbulence or disobedience shall subject the delinquent, at the option of the Commanding Officer, to deliver up his arms, and be deprived of serving longer in the Corps, or to such censure, or fine not exceeding one guinea, as shall be judged adequate and proper to the degree or quality of the offence.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS.

James Mayne of Powis, Logie.

Alex. Littlejohn, writer, and one of the Baillies of Stirling.

Michael Connal, merchant, and one of the Baillies of Stirling.

John Sutherland, merchant, and one of the Baillies of Stirling.

Duncan Littlejohn, residing in Stirling.

Robert Marshall, shopkeeper, do.

Alex. Baird, merchant, do.

James Milles, merchant, do.

James Murray, weaver, do.

William Scott, shopkeeper, do.

Ninian Drummond, shoemaker, do.

James Harley, wright, do.

Robert Alexander, weaver, do.

Archibald Sawers, baker, do.

Robert Banks, writer, do.

Robert Samuel, upholsterer, do.

John Wingate, vintner, do.

Christopher Bell, English teacher, do.

John Robertson, shoemaker, do.

Duncan M'Leran, merchant, do.

John Thomson, merchant, do.

Peter M'Intyre, banker's clerk, do.

James Liddell, farmer, Sauchie.

John Mason, vintner, Stirling.

John Fraser, hairdresser, do.

John Fairfoul, hairdresser, do.

James Sawers, sen., vintner, St Ninians.

Alex. Sutherland, saddler, Stirling.

David Robertson, dyer, Bannockburn.

James Chrystal, writer, Stirling.

Edward Christie, vintner, do.

Robert Thomson, shoemaker, Stirling.  
John Paton, weaver, do.  
William Thomson, do.  
Alex. Binney, weaver, do.  
David Jameson, English teacher, do.  
John Runceman, nurseryman, do.  
William Reid, baker, do.  
Duncan Chrystal, bookseller, do.  
William Murdoch, merchant, do.  
Robert Sconce, writer, do.  
John Methven, banker, do.  
James M'Beath, shopkeeper, do.  
James Campbell, shoemaker, do.  
John Galbraith, carter, do.  
Robert Johnstone, taylor, do.  
Cumberland Lauder, nurseryman, St Ninians.  
John Morison, merchant, Stirling.  
James Stewart, farmer, King's Park.  
Campbell Denovan, weaver, Bannockburn.  
Duncan Henderson, shoemaker, Stirling.  
William Walker, weaver, do.  
William Brember, weaver, do.  
William Weir Gilchrist, weaver, do.  
William Mair, weaver, do.  
Colin Sharp, taylor, do.  
James Jamieson, sawer, do.  
James Bruce, smith, do.  
James Murdoch, shoemaker, do.  
John Malcom, skinner, do.  
William Penel, do.  
William Dawson, farmer, Corntown.  
Thomas Rind, physician, Stirling.  
William Comrie, surgeon's apprentice, do.  
David M'Intyre, writer's clerk.  
Robert Cairns, do.  
John Winkie, do.  
Robert Sinclair, do.  
Robert Robertson, butcher, do.  
James M'Arthur, weaver, Newhouse.  
John Williamson, wright, Stirling.  
Robert Paterson, wright, do.  
William Bowie, weaver, Newhouse.  
Charles Moir, wright, Stirling.  
John Yool, wright, do.  
Robert M'Pherson, weaver, do.  
William Paton, writer's clerk, do.  
William Lockhart, brewer, do.  
James Buchanan, skinner, do.

Andrew Drysdale, saddler, Stirling.  
Thomas Anderson, spirit dealer, do.  
James Coutts, hairdresser, do.  
James M'Nie, maltman, do.  
Thomas Moir, maltman, do.  
John Gentles, merchant, do.  
John Murray, writer, do.  
James Forman, bookseller, do.  
James M'Ewan, merchant, do.  
John Jaffray, shopkeeper, do.  
Alexander Black, gardner, Newhouse.  
Alex. Ferguson, brewer, St Ninians.  
David Sharp, wright, do.  
William Liddell, shoemaker, do.  
Alex. Jaffray, turner, do.  
David Bell, clock maker, Stirling.  
John Robertson, weaver, Bannockburn.  
Peter Monach, weaver, do.  
James Denovan, weaver, do.  
James Stewart, manufacturer, Stirling.  
Alex. Barclay, manufacturer, do.  
John M'Lachlan, merchant, do.  
William Keay, grocer, do.  
Peter Strang, weaver, Raploch.  
Hugh Ross, slater, Stirling.  
Peter Dougal, shoemaker, do.  
Alex. Smith, wright, do.  
James Burgess, wool comber, do.  
Peter Campbell, invalid, do.  
William Coutts, hairdresser, do.  
Adam Steel, candlemaker, do.  
William Leighton, nailer, Newhouse.  
Robert Leighton, nailer, do.  
John M'Arthur, weaver, do.  
Peter Sharp, wright, St Ninians.  
James Jaffray, weaver, Cambusbarron.  
James Garrow, sawer, Stirling.  
James M'Kendrick, weaver, do.  
Arch. Gilchrist, jun., dyer, do.  
John Gilchrist, jun., weaver, do.  
John M'Farlane, merchant, do.  
James Cairns, carter, do.  
George Morrison, weaver, do.  
John Paterson, wright, do.  
Peter Littlejohn, writer, do.  
John Robertson, jun., weaver, do.  
William Wilson, shoemaker, do.  
John Gallaway, wright, do.

William Neilson, wright, Stirling.  
John Henderson, feuer, Bannockburn.  
John Stevenson, weaver, do.  
George Wingate, merchant, Stirling.  
Thomas Crawford, plaisterer, do.  
John Kinross, baker, do.  
Robert Campbell, writer's clerk, do.  
Peter M'Nicol, writer's clerk, do.  
William Black, writer, do.  
Alex. Runceman, merchant, do.  
Robert Black, gardner, Newhouse.  
Hector Sutherland, weaver, Cambusbarron.  
James Comrie, weaver, Raploch.  
Robert Smart, shopkeeper, Stirling.  
William Brown, merchant, do.  
Duncan D. Paterson, writer's clerk, do.  
James Irvine, wright, do.  
Patrick Scott, officer of Excise, do.  
Arch. Watson, wright, do.  
Andrew Gray, baker, do.  
Alex. Wright, merchant, do.  
John Forman, maltman, do.  
William Paterson, jun., shopkeeper, do.  
Patrick Connal, shopkeeper, do.  
Francis Ireland, printer, do.  
[152 in all.]

18th March, 1800.

A copy of the foregoing enrolment was transmitted to Major Mayne in London, to be laid before His Grace the Duke of Montrose, and the following is a copy of a letter by Major Mayne to Robert Sconce, writer, Stirling:—

London, 12th April, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg you'll do me the honour to communicate the import of this letter to our friends. I have instantly received a letter from His Grace the Duke of Montrose, inclosing Mr Dundas's letter to him, signifying that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept of our offer of service. Mr Dundas's letter is dated yesterday. The Duke's letter is in flattering terms. I have hardly time to overtake the Post, otherways would have transcribed the whole correspondence. That I bring with me, and hope to see you all in eight or ten days. Officers named by the Duke, and appointed by His Majesty are—

Major Mayne, Major; Captains, Alex. Littlejohn, James Chrystal, Robert Banks; 1st Lieutenants, Duncan Littlejohn, John Murray, Peter Littlejohn; 2nd Lieutenants, Robert Sconce, James Forman, George Wingate; Surgeon, Thomas Rind; Quarter-Master, John Runceman.—I ever am, my dear sir, yours most faithfully,

(Signed)      JAMES MAYNE.

To Mr Robert Sconce, writer in Stirling.

The following appeared in the London newspaper, called *The Sun*, of Monday, the 19th May, 1800:—"From the *London Gazette*, May 10th, 1800. War Office, May 10th.—Loyal Stirling Volunteers.—Mayne, Esq., to be Major; to be Captains—Alexander Littlejohn, Esq., James Chrystal, Esq., Robert Banks, Esq.; to be First Lieutenants—Duncan Littlejohn, gent., John Murray, gent., Peter Littlejohn, gent.; to be Second Lieutenants—Robert Sconce, gent., James Norman, gent., George Wingate, gent.; to be Quarter-Master—John Runceman, gent.; to be Surgeon—Thomas Rind, gent."

Stirling, 5th June, 1800.

Sederunt—Major Mayne, Lieutenants Duncan Littlejohn, John Murray, Peter Littlejohn, James Forman, and Robert Sconce, Qr.-Master John Runceman—Major Mayne, preses.

The Major laid before the meeting the following letters from His Grace the Duke of Montrose and Mr Dundas:—

Letter—the Duke of Montrose to Major Mayne.

Grosven. Sq., 12th April, 1800.

SIR,—I have laid the offer of forming a Corps of Volunteers in Stirling before His Majesty's Ministers, together with the officers, which, according to the desire of the Volunteers, I proposed to command them. I inclose a list of their names, together with the Secretary of State's answer, approving of the establishment of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers. That your zeal, with the zeal and attention of the Volunteers composing the Corps, will soon bring them forward into a respectable state of discipline, I make no

doubt, and have the honour to remain, with great esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

To Major Mayne.

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Copy letter by Mr Dundas to the Duke of Montrose, inclosed in the above.

Downing Street, 11th April, 1800.

MY LORD,—I have received and laid before the King Your Grace's letter of the 1st instant, recommending an offer from the principal inhabitants of the town of Stirling of forming themselves into a Corps of Volunteers, to consist of three companies, and to serve under the usual regulations and conditions in any part of the Military District, and I am commanded to acquaint your Grace that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept this offer of service.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

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The following Volunteers, viz. :—

Peter Campbell,	Colin Sharp,
Campbell Denovan,	James Denovan,
John Henderson,	John Stevenson,
Peter Monach,	Alex. Ferguson,
Alexr. Jaffray,	John Robertson,
Peter Sharp,	George Morrison,
David Sharp,	William Wilson,

are, at their request to the Duke of Montrose, struck off the list of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers.

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Stirling, 10th June, 1800.

Sederunt—Major Mayne, Lieutenants D. Littlejohn, John Murray, Peter Littlejohn, James Forman, George Wingate, Robert Sconce, Qr.-Master John Runceman—Major Mayne, *preses*.

The meeting agree that the following persons, who have offered to join the Corps, be admitted on the roll, viz. :—John Fisher, writer's clerk; James Peterkin, weaver; William Stewart, weaver; Alexander Morrison, mason; John Kesson, weaver; James France, Excise officer; John Wingate, at Bridge; John M'Dormon, residing in Stirling; William Jaffray, weaver; James Crawford, taylor; and Alexander Headrick, brewer.

Stirling, 17th June, 1800.

Sederunt—Major Mayne, Lieuts. D. Littlejohn, J. Murray, James Forman, George Wingate, and Robert Scoace—Major Mayne, preses.

The following Volunteers having offered to join the Corps, they are admitted on the roll accordingly, viz.:—Duncan Stewart, banker's clerk in Stirling; John Robertson, son of John Robertson, shoemaker, there; William M'Kendrick, wright, there; Thomas Rogerson, merchant, there; and Archd. Stewart, farmer at King's Park.

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Stirling, 21st June, 1800.

Sederunt—Major Mayne, Lieuts. D. Littlejohn, John Murray, Peter Littlejohn, Jas. Forman, George Wingate, and Robert Sconce—Major Mayne, preses.

The meeting agree that John Reid, baker; Robert Colquhoun, wright; George Brown, carpet weaver; and James Smart, shoemaker, all in Stirling, be admitted members of the Corps; also, that the following persons be admitted as drummers, viz.:—James Harvie, son of James Harvie, carpet weaver; Archibald Neilson, son of Leslie Neilson, wright; William M'Gibbon, son of Archibald M'Gibbon, porter; Peter M'Allum, residing with Catherine Campbell; Robert Stewart, son of Robert Stewart, wright; and Alexander M'Ewan, son of William M'Ewan, gardner, all in Stirling.

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Stirling, 14th July, 1800.

Sederunt—Major Mayne, 1st Lieuts. D. Littlejohn, Murray, P. Littlejohn, 2nd Lieuts. Forman, Wingate, and Sconce—Major Mayne, preses.

The following persons, having offered to join, are admitted members of the Corps accordingly, viz.:—Robert Watson, weaver in Newhouse; John Jamieson, weaver in Cambusbarron; John Taylor, weaver, there; and James Paterson, carter in Stirling.

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Stirling, 7th August, 1800.

The following persons are admitted members of the Corps, viz.:—David Gray, skinner in Stirling, and John M'Farlane, shopkeeper, there.

**Stirling, 15th September, 1800.**

Admit James Balfour, weaver; Thos. Strathern, shoemaker; John Martin, shoemaker; William Miller, weaver; James Pow, weaver; Andrew M'Neil, shoemaker; and Andrew Nuckell, weaver, all in Stirling; and James Lockhart, nailor in St Ninians, to be members of the Corps.

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**Stirling, 2nd October, 1800.**

The following are admitted members of the Corps, viz.:—Michael Jaffray, weaver in St Ninians; James Frater, carpet weaver in Stirling; Andrew King, wright, there; William Belcher, weaver, there; Alexander Brymner, taylor, there; John Gillies, skinner, there; Michael Kesson, weaver, there; and Robert Pow, weaver, there.

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**Stirling, 3rd November, 1800.**

Alexander Kincaid, weaver in Bannockburn; Archibald Kincaid, taylor, there; John Bogle, taylor in Stirling; and James Finlayson, weaver, there; and Charles Moncrieff, shoemaker in Bannockburn, are admitted members of the Corps.

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**Stirling, 10th November, 1800.**

Charles Dow, stocking-maker in Stirling; and James Neilson, weaver, there; and James Aikman, weaver in Cambusbarron, admitted members.

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**Stirling, 11th November, 1800.**

The following Volunteers have retired from the Corps and delivered up their arms, viz.:—Francis Ireland, James Paterson, Robert Pow, Thomas Anderson, William Weir Gilchrist, William Thomson, James Liddell, and Peter M'Intyre.

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**2nd December, 1800.**

The following Volunteers have retired from the Corps, viz.:—William Scott, Duncan Stewart, William Walker, Alex. Wright, Jas. Cairns, Robert Colquhoun, Ninian Drummond, Robert Sinclair, John Sutherland, John Wingate, Michael Connal, and John Winkie. John M'Leran, shoemaker at Raploch, is admitted a member.

**Stirling, 9th December, 1800.**

Thomas Murdoch, copper smith in Stirling; James Craig, brewer, there; and James Mitchell, tanner in St Ninians, are admitted members of the Corps.

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**Stirling, 16th December, 1800.**

William Smith, weaver in Craigs; William Bowie, wright in Bannockburn; and John Stewart, smith in Stirling, are admitted into the Corps.

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**Stirling, 23rd December, 1800.**

The following persons are admitted members of the Corps, viz.:—William Graham, taylor in Stirling; Arthur Borland, innkeeper, there; John Marshall, baker, there; William Kerr, baker, there; and John Crawford, taylor, there.

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**Stirling, 2nd January, 1801.**

Admit Duncan Dewar, wright in Stirling, a member of the Corps. James Campbell, shoemaker, and James M'Dormon, in Stirling, have retired.

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**8th January, 1801.**

Admit George Morrison, weaver in Stirling.

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**10th January, 1801.**

Admit Robert Pilling, carpet weaver in Stirling, on the rolls. Michael Kesson, weaver, has retired.

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**24th January, 1801.**

Admit Thomas Watson, baker in Bannockburn; William Ewing, brewer in Stirling; and James Cairns, carter, there.

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**Stirling, 24th January, 1801.**

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—George Brown, James Peterkin, and Patrick Scott.

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**Stirling, 2nd February, 1801.**

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—James Crawford, William Dawson, John M'Lachlane, James Melles, Robert Thomson, and James

Comrie, and the following have joined, viz.:—  
Wm. Weir Gilchrist, weaver in Stirling; Robert Scott, residenter, there; Robert Hosey, weaver in Cambusbarron; Robert Smith, weaver in Stirling; John Methvin, jun., weaver, there; and John Boyd, mason, there.

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Stirling, 9th February, 1801.

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—  
John Thomson, Christopher Bell, Andrew Gray, Archibald Sawers, John Morrison, and John Taylor, and the following have joined, viz.:—  
James Stewart (3), shopkeeper in Stirling; James Jameson, jun., weaver in Cambusbarron; Archd. Noble, shopkeeper in Stirling; Thomas Brown, writer's clerk, there; John Watson, baker in Bannockburn; and John M'Arthur, wright at Causeyhead.

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Copy indentures proposed to be entered into with the Drum and Fife Boys.

This indenture between Robert Sconce, Paymaster to the Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, as being specially authorised to enter into the same in name of the Officers of the said Corps, on the one part, conform to their Act extracted on the back hereof, and on the other parts, the following persons, with consent of their fathers after named, as Drummers and Fifers to the said Corps, viz.:—James Harvie, son of James Harvie, weaver in Stirling; David Morrison, son of the deceased Morrison, weaver in Castlehill of Stirling, and

as Drummers, and Alexander M'Ewan, son of William M'Ewan, gardner in Stirling; William M'Gibbon, son of Archibald M'Gibbon, residenter, there; and Archibald Neilson, son of Lesslie Neilson, wright, there, as Fifers, with consent of their said fathers, and the said David Morrison, with consent of his mother; witnesseth that they, the said James Harvey, David Morrison, Alex. M'Ewan, William M'Gibbon, and Archibald Neilson, and each for himself, with consent foresaid, has become bound and engaged as they and each of them, with said consent, hereby bind themselves as Drummers and Fifers to the said Corps, and

oblige themselves diligently to apply to acquire and retain a complete skill and proficiency in beating the drum and playing the fife, as before distinguished, and for that purpose to attend upon any teacher appointed by the Officers to instruct them therein; and also thankfully to attend the said Corps of Volunteers on all and every parade and field-day, and to march and remain with them wherever directed, as Drummers and Fifers foresaid; and otherways do the duty of a Loyal Stirling Volunteer, according to the command of the officer commandant for the time, and likewise to preserve carefully and make forthcoming to the said Officer Commandant, or others instructed by him, the drums, fifes, music books, accoutrements, and others which they or any of them may happen to receive, and for that end to reside in the town of Stirling, and at no time to absent themselves without leave asked and obtained from the proper officer. All this during the existence of the said Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, from and after the date hereof, with power nevertheless to the Officers of the said Corps, or a majority of their number, to declare this indenture void and at an end at any time, with respect to the whole or any one of the forenamed Drummers and Fifers. For which causes, and on the other part the said Robert Sconce, as Paymaster aforesaid, and as having special authority from the Officers of the Corps, in manner before written, binds and obliges the said Officers and himself and his successors in office as Paymaster, out of the Officers' pay, not only to furnish said Drummers and Fifers with music books and to defray the expense of teaching them the drum and fife, but also to provide each of them in clothing during the present engagement as follows, viz. :—a working jacket every eight months, a vest every year, a pair of pantaloons, pair of shoes, a pair worsted stockings every six months, one linen and one harn shirt, one leather cap, a black velvet stock and pair of half gaiters once in the year, besides the full dress to be ordered only at such times as the Officer Commandant shall appoint, also one shilling each a week for washing, to commence from the period that pay was issued on their accounts, respectively, by Government. But the

said pay drawn or to be drawn for them from Government is to be applied by the Officers for the above clothing and washing, and the cloths so intrusted to them shall be taken proper care of by them, clean, in good order, to be inspected by Peter M'Gibbon, taylor, and any repairs necessary thereto shall be paid out of the allowance for washing; and, further, the said boys shall not wear their full dress but when ordered by the Major. Consenting to the registration hereof, &c.

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Stirling, 19th February, 1801.

Sederunt—Major Mayne, Captains Chrystal and Alexander, Lieutenants Forman, Wingate, and Sconce.

A scroll indenture with the drum and fife boys—whereof a copy is prefixed—having been laid before the meeting, they unanimously approve thereof, and authorise Robert Sconce, the Paymaster, in their name, to enter into the same with the six boys therein mentioned; and agree to furnish the boys with music, to be at the expense of teaching them the drum and fife, and to provide them with the different articles of clothing specified in the said indenture, and of their pay proportionally according to their rank.

The meeting agree that whatever claim Messrs Chrystie & Shaw, in London, agents for the Corps, may have against it for agency shall be paid out of the Contingent Fund, and if that fund should happen to be deficient, they will defray the same out of their pay, in proportion to their rank. In the meantime, the meeting are of opinion that Messrs Chrystie & Shaw have no claim upon the Corps for agency, as they are well informed that there is an established allowance from the public to the agents of two and a half per cent. upon the accounts of pay and clothing, which is issued to them upon the settlement of the accounts, and which allowance the meeting consider to be adequate to the agents' trouble. The meeting, however, request the Paymaster to write Messrs Chrystie & Shaw upon this subject.

The meeting authorise the Paymaster to pay any accounts respecting the drum boys or relating to the affairs of the Corps, which may be approved of or ordered to be paid by any three of the

Officers; and they approve of the accounts against the Contingent Fund which the Paymaster has already paid, amounting to twenty-four pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence.

JAMES MAYNE.	JAMES CRYSTAL.
E. ALEXANDER.	JAMES FORMAN.
GEO. WINGATE.	ROBERT SCORCE.
PETER LITTLEJOHN.	JOHN MURRAY.
JOHN BUNCHMAN.	

Stirling, 25th February, 1801.

Sederunt—

The meeting having again taken into consideration the propose indenture with the drum boys, they agree to allow each of them eighteen pence in the week, instead of one shilling as formerly fixed, and they further agree to put the boys to trades when fit for it, and to pay two pounds of apprentices fee with each; also to give them what education they may stand in need of and may be judged proper for them, and the meeting authorise the Paymaster to amend and correct the indentures agreeable to these resolutions.

JAMES CRYSTAL.	JAMES FORMAN.
E. ALEXANDER.	GEO. WINGATE.
PETER LITTLEJOHN.	JOHN MURRAY.
D. LITTLEJOHN.	ROBERT SCORCE.

Stirling, 2nd March, 1801.

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—Robert Marshall, James Buchanan, and William Paterson.

Stirling, 5th March, 1801.

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—John Boyd and Alexander Baird.

Stirling, 12th March, 1801.

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—Alex. Kincaid, Arch. Kincaid, John Watson, and Thomas Watson.

Stirling, 16th March, 1801.

The following Volunteers have joined the Corps, viz.:—George Russell, weaver at Raploch, and Peter M'Gibbon, fiddler in Stirling.

Stirling, 4th April, 1801.

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—Robert Black and John Reid; and the following have joined, viz.:—John Leckie, wright in Stirling, and Charles Monteath, cooper, there.

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Stirling, 11th April, 1801.

The following have joined, viz.:—Alex. M'Nair, residenter in St Ninians; Finley Brown, wright in Stirling; James Reid, carver and gilder, there; and James Robertson, weaver in Cambusbarron; and Robert Smart has retired.

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Stirling, 18th April, 1801.

The following have joined the Corps, viz.:—John Christie, wright at Causeyhead; John M'Queen, wright, there; John Maxwell, barber in Stirling; and Robert Allan, weaver, there.

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Stirling, 4th May, 1801.

The following Volunteers have retired, viz.:—Robert Scott, James Garrow, William Brown, and Robert Johnstone, and the following have joined, viz.:—John Wright, smith at Causeyhead; George Scott, taylor in Stirling; and Alex. Blake, residenter, there.

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Stirling, 11th May, 1801.

The following have retired from the Corps, viz.:—John Mason, Archibald Gilchrist, James Mitchell, Alex. Runceman, and Peter M'Gibbon, jun., and the following have joined, viz.:—John Stuart, at King's Park, and Hugh Laing, [blank] in Stirling.

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Stirling, 24th May, 1801.

The following have joined the Corps, viz.:—James Christie, barber in Stirling; Thomas Templeton, weaver, there; John Williamson, wright, there; and Charles Moir, wright, there.

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Stirling, 2nd June, 1801.

John Fairfoul, a Volunteer, died this day.

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Stirling, 16th June, 1801.

John Kinross retired, and James Maldment, Esq., residing at Craigforth, joined.

24th June, 1801.

Archibald Noble retired, and the following joined the Corps, viz. :—William Grant, residenter in Stirling, and Walter M'Killop, weaver, there.

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2nd July, 1801.

The following retired, viz. :—Alex. Blake, and Jas. Jameson, jun.

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10th July, 1801.

Richard Wooley, residenter at Craigforth House, joined.

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13th July, 1801.

Edward Christie retired, and Peter Brown, mason in Stirling, joined.

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20th July, 1801.

John Wright, wright in Stirling, joined.

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Stirling, 3rd August, 1801.

James Stewart (3) has retired, and George Allison, wright in Stirling, and John Baird, brewer, there, joined.

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6th August, 1801.

John Gillies has retired.

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Stirling, 4th September, 1801.

The following have retired, viz. :—Alex. M'Nair, Alex. Sutherland, William Black, and William Kerr, and the following have joined, viz. :—John Kinross, baker in Stirling, and James Garrow, wright, there.

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10th September, 1801.

The following have joined, viz. :—Alexander M'Gregor, residenter in Stirling; James Wilson, residenter, there; and James Smith, weaver, there; and the following have retired, viz. :—James Murdoch and John Robertson, sen.

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24th September, 1801.

John Cochrane, writer's clerk in Stirling, and Robert Haldane, do., there, have joined.

Stirling, 5th November, 1801.

Alex. M'Gregor and John Fisher have retired.

9th November, 1801.

William Smith has retired.

16th November, 1801.

Alex. Barclay and Jas. M'Beath have retired.

19th November, 1801.

Duncan Chrystal has retired.

23rd November, 1801.

James Harley has retired.

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Stirling, 3rd December, 1801.

The following persons have joined, viz. :—Jacob Littlejohn, residenter in Stirling, and Robert Alexander, shoemaker, there.

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3rd January, 1802.

John Robertson (3) retired.

18th January, 1802.

James Stewart, jun., retired.

18th February, 1802.

John M'Farlane retired.

22nd February, 1802.

John Robertson (3) rejoined.

2nd March, 1802.

John Fairchild, smith at Whins of Milton, joined, and James Lockhart retired.

19th March, 1802.

James Reid retired.

27th March, 1802.

Wm. Neilson and Wm. Stewart retired.

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Copy letter, the Secretary at War to the Officer Commanding the Stirling Volunteers.

War Office, 29th April, 1802.

SIR,—I have received the King's commands, through the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, to signify to you that His Majesty has declined accepting the offers of those Corps of Volunteer

and Associated Infantry which have proposed a continuation of their services; and that the necessary arrangements are now to be made with the Board of Ordnance for receiving the arms and accoutrements of all the Corps of Volunteer and Associated Infantry, upon which subject you will be particularly informed by the Lord Lieutenant of your county.

In consequence of the above communication, I am to acquaint you that no further monthly issue of pay will be made on account of the Corps under your command beyond the 24th instant inclusive.

You will be pleased to transmit as soon as is convenient for you one complete account from 25th December last to 24th instant inclusive, made up in the same manner as the annual accounts required by the circular letter of the 1st December, 1800; forwarding at the same time the annual accounts and the monthly pay lists to the period above mentioned—should any have been omitted to be sent—in order to enable my office to take the necessary measures towards the final settlement of the accounts in question.

I gladly avail myself of the present opportunity to express my just sense of the great advantages which the country has derived during the course of the late arduous contest from the services of the Volunteer Corps of cavalry and infantry.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) C. YORKE.

To Officer Commanding Stirling Volunteers.

In consequence of the foregoing letter, the Loyal Stirling Volunteers delivered up their arms and accoutrements in Stirling Castle on the 10th May, 1802, and what follows relates to the re-embodiment of that Corps in May, 1803.

Copy letter, Major Mayne to Robert Sconce.

Powis, 4th April, 1803.

DEAR SIR,—I am favored by this post with the inclosed, and avail myself of an early opportunity in putting it into your hands that you may take instant measures for laying it before my much esteemed friends, to whom I am attached by every tie of gratitude and affection, that they

may take into consideration the propriety of resuming arms in the laudable cause for which they formerly stepped forth with so much honor to themselves and satisfaction of our Royal Sovereign.

Not aware of such a measure being the intention of Government, and the very handsome manner in which I was invited to assume arms in the Militia, I am deprived of a singular pleasure which I should otherwise have enjoyed in offering my humble assistance in any station amongst the Loyal Stirling Volunteers to which I might be deemed adequate.

Nevertheless, should it be resolved to resume that Corps, every thing that can come within the compass of my power I will cheerfully exert to forward its wonted respectability.—I am, with great regard, sir, your very faithful and most obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES MAYNE.

To Mr Robert Sconce, late Secretary and Paymaster of Loyal Stirling Volunteers.

Copy, paper inclosed in the above letter.

**PROPOSED CONDITIONS OF SERVICE FOR CORPS OF VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.**

Every corps receiving pay to engage to serve in the military district in which it is situated. Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private to take an oath of allegiance and fidelity to His Majesty.

The companies not to be less than 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 50 privates each, with 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign. Two lieutenants to the flank companies and to such as consist of 80 men. No company to have more than 100 privates.

Field officers, in proportion to the whole number of private men in the corps, to be the same as in the Militia. An adjutant and sergeant-major to be allowed to corps of 300 private men and upwards; a sergeant-major only to corps of 150 privates to 300. One officer in every company, if taken from the half pay, to have constant pay of his Volunteer commission not higher than that of captain, and if not on half pay but formerly a commissioned officer in the military service, to

have constant pay equal to the half pay of his Volunteer rank, not higher than that of captain; the other officers not to receive any pay, the adjutants excepted.

When not called out on actual service, the adjutants, sergeant-majors, and one sergeant per company to be allowed constant pay as in the disembodied Militia. Pay, as disembodied Militia, for the rest of the sergeants, and for the corporals, drummers, and privates, to be allowed for two days in the week, from Lady-day to Michaelmas, and for one day of muster in each of the winter months; but for effectives only present under arms to be allowed for clothing:—

£3	3	9	for each Sergeant.
1	11	3	for each Corporal.
2	3	6	for each Drummer.
1	10	0	for each Private.

and to be repeated at the end of three years.

An annual allowance to be made to each company in lieu of all contingencies (exclusive of agency, for which business a general agent will be appointed by Government), viz., £25 for companies of 50 private men, with an additional allowance of £5 for every ten men beyond that number.

The whole to be clothed in red, with the sole exception of the Companies of Artillery, which are to have blue clothing.

Field officers and adjutants to be allowed the tax for one horse each. The whole officers and men to be exempted from the Hair Powder Duty, and from being balloted for the Militia, during their service in the Volunteers.

When called out in case of actual invasion, to be paid and disciplined in all respects as the regular infantry; Artillery Companies to be paid as artillery when on actual service.

Copy letter, Provost Glas to His Grace the Duke of Montrose.

Stirling, 9th April, 1803.

MY LORD DUKE,—The Captains and several of the subaltern Officers of the late Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers have waited on me as Deputy Lieutenant requesting that I would acquaint your Grace that, if agreeable to your Grace's

views respecting this county, they will set on foot under my directions an enrolment for a Corps of Volunteers in Stirling, to serve in terms of the proposed conditions of service for Corps of Volunteer Infantry, which, they understand from newspapers, have been sent by Lord Hobart to the Lord Lieutenants of all the counties.

I have great pleasure in handing this request to your Grace, and will be happy to have the honor of your Grace's directions to be communicated to these gentlemen, who are willing to take the trouble of a new enrolment.—I have the honor to be, my Lord Duke, your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN GLAS.

To His Grace the Duke of Montrose, London.

Copy letter, His Grace the Duke of Montrose to Provost Glas.

London, 14th April, 1803.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 9th, and think the establishment of a Volunteer Corps at Stirling, formed from the gentlemen and others composing the late Loyal Stirling Volunteers, under your directions, may be useful, but I should not wish to have the Corps numerous, because the population of Stirling is not great, and the Volunteers should not come from a distance. I conceive two Companies will be sufficient.

It will be right to be more particular in the formation of Volunteer Corps than was the practice last war.

In any proposal you have to make, I will beg of you to mention to me, in the way of explanation, the names and description of the officers, for on their respectability and fitness for the command much depends as to the advantage which the public may reap from the establishment of Volunteer Corps in general.—I am, sir, with esteem, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

To John Glas, Esq., Provost of Stirling.

Copy letter, Provost Glas to His Grace the Duke of Montrose.

Stirling, 10th May, 1803.

MY LORD DUKE,—I was honoured with your Grace's letter of the 14th April, which I laid

before the officers of the late Loyal Stirling Volunteers, who immediately commenced a new enrolment, and I have now the honor to hand your Grace a list of the names and employments of those enrolled, with the intended private regulations of the Corps, for your Grace's approbation. It is proposed that the Corps be formed either into two or three Companies as your Grace may judge most suitable; but I beg leave to mention that in the conversations I have had with the gentlemen of the late Corps, it is the general wish to have three Companies not exceeding 50 men each, and that they be officered by the gentlemen in the annexed list. Major Mayne being appointed to the Militia, a new Major Commandant is necessary for the Volunteers. The officers have suggested Major James Nathaniel Rind of Livilands, a gentleman of fortune and high respectability, who was twenty-three years in the East India Company's Army in Bengal, and in my humble opinion fully qualified for the rank of Commandant, and who has signified his good wishes to the cause. It will give me much pleasure to be honored with your Grace's further commands on this business, and to communicate His Majesty's pleasure to the officers if His Majesty shall be pleased to accept of the present offer of service.—I have the honor to be, my Lord, Duke, your Grace's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN GLAS, P.

**LIST OF THE PROPOSED OFFICERS FOR THE STIRLING VOLUNTEERS ANNEXED TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.**

Major James Nathaniel Rind of Livilands  
to be Commandant.

To be Captains:—

{	James Chrystal, writer in Stirling, late Captain of Volunteers.
	Edward Alexander, merchant, there, do.
	Andrew Wallace, jun., Esq. of Forthside, formerly Captain of the 2nd Battalion of the 9th Regiment, who has been requested by the Deputy Lieutenant and the other officers of the Corps, and has therefore signified his willingness to accept.

To be Lieutenants:—

{ Peter Littlejohn, writer, late 1st Lieutenant.  
Robert Sconce, writer, late 2nd Lieutenant.  
James Forman, merchant, do.

To be Ensigns:—

{ George Wingate, merchant, do.  
Robt. Campbell, writer, late Adjutant of do.  
John Glas, jun., merchant, has been requested, without any solicitation on his part, and will accept.

John Runceman, late Quartermaster, to be Quartermaster.

Dr Thos. Rind, physician in Stirling, to be Surgeon.

The Rev. John Russell, late Chaplain, to be Chaplain.

N.B.—Lieutenant D. Littlejohn, of late Corps, gone to America, and Lieutenant Murray appointed to Yeomanry.

Copy enrolment sent His Grace the Duke of Montrose in the preceding letter.

Stirling, 19th April, 1803.

We, subscribers, hereby enrol as members of the new Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers, under the following regulations, viz. :—

1st. The Corps to be embodied in terms of the proposed conditions of service for Corps of Volunteer Infantry, which have been transmitted by His Grace the Lord Lieutenant of this County to Provost Glas of Stirling, along with His Grace's letter of 14th April, 1803.

2d. The officers to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and all vacancies filled up by him.

3d. The non-commissioned officers to be appointed by a majority of the officers of the Corps.

4th. The enrolment, together with the private affairs of the Corps, to be under the management of the Commissioned Officers, four to be a quorum.

5th. The Corps to receive arms and accoutrements from His Majesty, and each individual will provide himself with clothing.

6th. The discipline, times of exercise, and field days, complimentary parades, &c., shall be with

the Commanding Officer, and each Volunteer, when ordered, shall appear under arms in the uniform of the Corps; and, while at exercise, observe the most profound silence, pay all due respect to the officers, and obey orders without reply.

7th. Every Volunteer is to be intrusted with his arms, which he must constantly keep clean and fit for service, and if the Commanding Officer of the Company shall find them otherwise, he may order them to be sent to the Armourer at the expense of the individual.

8th. When a Volunteer has occasion to be from home a considerable time, he must signify his intention to the Commanding Officer of his Company, and, if required, deliver up his arms till his return.

9th. Any act of impiety, immorality, or disloyalty, at any time, or in any place whatever, and any degree of turbulence or disobedience shall subject the delinquent, at the option of the Commanding Officer, to deliver up his arms, and be deprived of serving longer in the Corps, or to such censure or fine not exceeding one guinea as may be judged adequate and proper to the degree or quality of the offence.

James Chrystal, writer, Stirling.

Edward Alexander, merchant, do.

Peter Littlejohn, writer, do.

Robert Sconce, writer, do.

5 James Forman, merchant, do.

George Wingate, merchant, do.

John Runceman, merchant, do.

David Jameson, school master, do.

William Lockhart, brewer, do.

10 William Coutts, hair dresser, do.

John Fraser, hair dresser, do.

John Williamson, wright, do.

Archibald Neilson, wright, do.

Andrew Nicol, weaver, do.

15 John Robertson, shoe maker, do.

James Neilson, weaver, do.

James Finlayson, weaver, do.

Thomas Strathearn, shoe maker, do.

Andrew King, wright, do.

20 William M'Kendrick, do.

Charles Monteath, cooper, do.

John Cochrane, writer, do.

- John Gallaway, wright, Stirling.  
Finlay Brown, carver and gilder, do.
- 25 James Grahame, taylor, do.  
James Watson.  
James M'Kendrick, weaver, Stirling.  
James M'Arthur, weaver, Newhouse.  
John M'Arthur, weaver, do.
- 30 John Yool, wright, Stirling.  
William Grant, turner, do.  
James M'Nie, maltman, do.  
Peter M'Gibbon, taylor, do.  
Charles Moir, weaver, do.
- 35 William Bowie, do.  
Robert Pilling, weaver, do.  
Thomas Brown, manufacturer, do.  
William Belcher, weaver, do.  
Thomas Thomson.
- 40 Robert Cairns, weaver, Stirling.  
John Robertson, weaver, do.  
John Forman, maltman, do.  
Duncan M'Eachion.  
James Bruce, smith, Stirling.
- 45 George Russel, weaver, Raploch.  
James Comrie, weaver, do.  
John M'Ewan.  
James Stewart, farmer, King's Park.  
Archibald Stewart, farmer, do.
- 50 John Stewart, farmer, do.  
James Jaffray, weaver, Cambusbarron.  
Hector Sutherland, weaver, do.  
John Jameson, weaver, do.  
Robert Hosey, weaver.
- 55 John Aikman.  
Andrew M'Neil, weaver, Stirling.  
John Leckie.  
Charles Cowie.  
Peter M'Niven.
- 60 William Cowie.  
Robert Jameson.  
Robert Henderson.  
Andrew Jameson.  
Thomas Lighton, nailor, St Ninians.
- 65 Robert Lighton, nailor, do.  
William Lighton, nailor, do.  
William Davie.  
William Liddell, weaver, St Ninians.  
Cumberland Lauder, nurseryman, do.
- 70 James Sawers, vintner, do.

- Michael Jaffray, weaver, St Ninians.  
James Smith.  
William Brown, merchant, Stirling  
James Murdoch, writer, do.  
75 Daniel M'Donald, shop keeper, do.  
James M'Gibbon, shop keeper, do.  
John Martin, shoe maker, do.  
George Robertson, weaver, do.  
Archibald Watson, wright, do.  
80 Robert Allan, weaver, do.  
John Wright.  
William Jaffray, weaver, Stirling.  
William Grahame, taylor, do.  
William Brember, stocking maker, do.  
85 Colin Sharp, taylor, do.  
Alexander Coutts, do.  
William Mair, weaver, do.  
Alexander Binnie, weaver, do.  
James Frater, do.  
90 James Pow, weaver, do.  
Robert Dick, weaver, do.  
John Methvin, do.  
James Smart, shoe maker, do.  
Robert Pow, weaver, do.  
95 William Gilchrist, weaver, do.  
David Grey, skinner, do.  
John Malcom, skinner, do.  
William Penel, shoe maker, do.  
John Methvin, banker, do.  
100 John Crawford, taylor, do.  
James Cairns, carter, do.  
George Morrison, do.  
William Paterson.  
Thomas Rogerson, merchant, Stirling.  
105 William Rogerson, shop keeper, do.  
John Bogle, taylor, do.  
John Paterson, wright, do.  
James Manwell.  
Patrick Sutherland, residenter, Stirling.  
110 Archibald Murdoch.  
Houston Paterson.  
James Balfour, weaver, Stirling.  
William Garrow.  
William Peterkin, weaver, Stirling.  
115 James Garrow, sawer, do.  
William Ewing, Abbey.  
John Ferguson, do.  
Peter Dewar, do.

- George Nisbet, Abbey.  
120 Robert Dawson, do.  
John Ewing, do.  
Robert M'Leran, do.  
David Hunter, do.  
John Marshall, do.  
125 James Glen, do.  
Thomas Dawson, do.  
John Marshall, do.  
John Hunter, do.  
Alex. Methvin, do.  
130 William Garrow, do.  
Archibald M'Lellan, do.  
Alex. M'Nellan, do.  
John Cherrie, do.  
James Cherrie, Abbey.  
135 William Cherrie, do.  
Daniel Melles, do.  
James Dewar, do.  
Hugh Ross, slater, Stirling.  
James Lockhart.  
140 John M'Leran, shoe maker, Raploch  
Peter Strang, taylor, do.  
James Mathie.  
David Bell, clock maker, Stirling.  
Charles Dow, weaver, do.  
145 John Sutherland.  
Thomas Garrow.  
Murray Campbell, Stirling.  
John Gilchrist, jun., weaver, do.  
James Jameson, innkeeper, do.  
150 John Gentle, merchant, do.  
Robert Samuel, upholsterer, do.  
Thomas Crawford, plaisterer, do.  
James Murray, weaver, do.  
John Christie.  
155 Wm. M'Gibbon, resider, Stirling.  
Walter Lyon, shoe maker, Stirling.  
John Brymner, do.  
Andrew Buchanan, brewer, do.  
Thomas Clawson.  
160 Robert Watson, weaver, Newhouse.  
Alex. Black, weaver, do.  
Archibald Watt, weaver, Stirling.  
Walter M'Killop, weaver, do.  
Robert M'Pherson, weaver, do.  
165 William Bowie.  
William Reid.

- John Ralstone, shoe maker, Stirling.  
 John Robertson.  
 John Gillies, skinner, Stirling.  
 170 Walter Towers.  
 James Burgess, wool comber, Stirling.  
 James Coutts, hair dresser, do.  
 John Benson, writer, do.  
 James Mellea, merchant, do.  
 175 James Dow.  
 James Robertson.  
 John Cameron.  
 James Bald.  
 David Kennedy, merchant, St Ninians.  
 180 Alex. Ewar.  
 David Stalker, weaver, Raploch.  
 William M'Grigor, residenter, do.  
 James Nathaniel Rind, Esquire of Livlands,  
 Livlands.  
 John Glas, jun., merchant, Stirling.  
 185 Andrew Wallace, jun., Esquire of Forthside,  
 Forthside.  
 Robert Campbell, writer, Stirling.
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Copy letter, His Grace the Duke of Montrose to  
 Provost Glas.

London, 14th May, 1803.

SIR, -I have received your letter of the 10th instant, together with the regulations of the Corps, and have only to remark on them that I think the Corps would be better conducted, and more for the peace and comfort of all composing it, were the non-commissioned officers to be appointed by the Commanding Officer; as, if he is fit for the command, he can have no motive in such appointments but the honor and advantage of the Corps; and that elections in military corps are very apt to introduce cabal and ill humour.

I have transmitted the offer to the Secretary of State, and have recommended the officers according to your wishes, having a very good opinion of all the gentlemen proposed as officers to the Corps of Loyal Stirling Volunteers.—I remain, with esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

To Provost Glas, &c., &c., Stirling.

Copy letter, Lieut.-General Vyse, Commanding in North Britain, to His Grace the Duke of Montrose, Lord Lieutenant of Stirlingshire, or the Acting Deputy Lieutenants, Stirling.

Circular to the Lord Lieutenants of Counties.

Edinburgh, May 21st, 1803.

MY LORD,—I think it my duty to acquaint Your Grace that I have just received from the Right Honorable Lord Hobart a letter on the subject of the intended Volunteer establishments in North Britain, of which the following is an extract, and which I do myself the honor of sending for your information, viz.:—

“But, as under present circumstances, considerable inconvenience might arise from a delay in forming such Corps as it may be judged advisable to establish, I feel disposed so far to relax from the original plan as to authorise you to communicate the intention of Government to allow pay to officers for the days of exercise, provided it shall in no case be extended to those of a higher rank than Captain.”

—I have the honor to be, with great respect, Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) E. VYSE, Lt.-Genl.,  
Commanding in North Britain.

To the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Stirling.

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Copy letter, His Grace the Duke of Montrose to Provost Glas, &c.

London, 24th May, 1803.

SIR,—I have the satisfaction to inclose a letter from the Secretary of State, accepting the spirited and zealous offer of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers. —I remain, with esteem, sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

To Provost Glas, &c., &c.

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Letter, the Secretary of State to His Grace the Duke of Montrose (inclosed in the above).

Downing Street, 23rd May, 1803.

MY LORD,—I have had the honor of laying before the King the proposal communicated by

Your Grace for raising three Companies of Volunteer Infantry at Stirling, and I am commanded to express the satisfaction His Majesty has derived from the zeal and public spirit manifested by this offer, which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve and accept.—I have the honor to be, my Lord, Your Grace's most obedient servant,

(Signed) HOBART.

To His Grace the Duke of Montrose, &c., &c.

Copy letter, Provost Glas to Lieut.-General Vyse, Commanding in North Britain, Edinburgh.

Stirling, 29th May, 1803.

SIR,—I have the honor of inclosing for Your Excellency's information copy of a letter received by His Grace the Duke of Montrose from the Secretary of State, as well as His Grace's letter to me, accepting of the services of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers. As the most of them who formed the former Corps have again enrolled, and having been drilled, the Officers have requested me to apply to Your Excellency to order the delivery of their arms and ammunition from the magazine in Stirling Castle. The strength of the Corps is 3 Companies of 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 2 drummers, and 50 privates, all enrolled—a copy of which has been transmitted by me to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant on the 10th current.

I further beg leave to add a roll of the officers who have been recommended and approved of.—I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN GLAS.

To His Excellency Lieut.-Genl. Vyse, Commanding in North Britain, Edinburgh.

Copy answer, Lieut.-General Vyse to Provost Glas's letter on the preceding page.

Edinburgh, May 30th, 1803.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, with its several inclosures, acquainting me of His Majesty's acceptance of the offer of service of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers, in the formation of which, you may be assured, that I shall be happy to be of every service in my power. But before I can

pretend to be of any, I must request you will be so good as to inform me on what conditions the offer of service in question accepted by His Majesty was made.—I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) R. VYSE, Lt.-Genl.,  
Commanding in North Britain.

To John Glas, Esq., Deputy Lieutenant in the  
County of Stirling, Stirling.

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Letter, Major Rind to Lieut.-Genl. Vyse.

Stirling, 31st May, 1803.

SIR,—Provost Glas having transmitted me Your Excellency's letter of the 30th current, requesting to be informed of the conditions on which the offer of service of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers was accepted of by His Majesty, I have the honour to inclose Your Excellency the printed copy of the conditions of service, transmitted by the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and accepted by the Corps.—I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES N. RIND.

To His Excellency Lt.-Genl. Vyse, Commanding in  
North Britain, Edinburgh.

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Letter, Major Rind to His Grace the Duke of  
Montrose, &c., &c., London.

Stirling, 3rd June, 1803.

MY LORD,—In consequence of the Secretary of State's letter of the 23rd ult., transmitted by Your Grace to Provost Glas, I have the honor to acquaint you that on the 30th May the gentlemen who subscribed to serve as Loyal Stirling Volunteers were assembled and took the oath of allegiance to His Majesty; and last night we had another parade. I can, with great truth, assure Your Grace that the men have not forgot the discipline ably instilled into them by their late Commandant, Major Mayne.

On receipt of Your Grace's letter, Provost Glas was requested to apply to General Vyse for arms and ammunition to the Corps; in answer to which the General desired to know on what terms our offer of service was accepted. In reply, I trans

mitted him a copy of the printed proposed conditions of service, informing him that these were the terms accepted, and which had been signed, since which we have had no answer. As the greatest part of the Corps are fit to receive arms, I hope Your Grace will have the goodness to state this to the Commander-in-Chief, in order that the necessary order may be given to that effect.

Since the roll was transmitted by Provost Glas, several very fine young men have offered their services, and have been allowed to sign the proposals, and as I understand a number more wish to join, I shall esteem Your Grace's instructions on all occasions a particular honor, and whether we may be allowed to increase the Companies as far as specified by the regulations.

I further beg leave to request the name of the agent appointed by Government for the Volunteers.

I have taken the liberty of inclosing a return of the Corps, and have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord, Your Grace's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

(Signed) J. N. RIND.

To His Grace the Duke of Montrose, Lord Lieutenant, &c., &c.

Letter, His Grace the Duke of Montrose to Major Rind, in answer to the above.

London, 8th June, 1803.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 3rd June, and am happy your Volunteers have turned out with so much zeal and alacrity.

I inclose you my agent's note to me, on applying for the name of the supposed agent.

I will send your return to the Duke's office, requesting again an order for the arms, but having already applied, the rest remains I think with you, General Vyse, and your agent, who must be immediately appointed, or you will find inconvenience.

For various reasons, which I need not trouble you with in detail—such as the population, the situation of Stirling, &c.—the Companies being three should not exceed 60 rank and file, and I cannot recommend to the Secretary of State to

allow them to exceed that number. The Militia and Supplementary Militia would fall very heavy on the district were a greater number to become Volunteers at Stirling.—I remain, with great esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

P.S.—I have mislaid the agent's note, in which he says there is no agent of the description you mention appointed by Government.

To Major Rind, L.S.V., Stirling.

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Stirling, 25th June, 1803.

In consequence of a warrant from Lieut.-Genl. Vyse, Mr Gibb, store keeper of Stirling Castle, delivered to the Corps 180 stand of arms, 10 sergeants' pikes, and 6 drummers' swords, drums, and sticks. He also delivered to them 180 sets of pouches, slings, and belts, which were the property of the former Volunteer Corps, and lodged in the Magazine at its reduction.

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Letter, the Secretary at War to the Officer Commanding Volunteers, Stirling.

War Office, 25th June, 1803.

SIR,—It having been thought advisable, with a view to the public economy and the good of the service, to appoint a General Agent for all the Corps of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry established, or which may hereafter be established, in Great Britain; and George Hassell, Esq., having been approved of for that purpose, I have the honor to acquaint you herewith, and that you are to draw upon him at No. 7 Spring Gardens, by bills at thirty days' sight, for the allowances of the Corps under your command.

I am to add that the said General Agent will be instructed to furnish you with any information which you may from time to time require respecting the pay and allowances of your Corps.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) C. YORKE.

To Officer Commanding the Volunteers, Stirling.

Letter, George Hassell to Major Rind.

General Agency Office, 29th June, 1803.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that the Secretary at War has appointed me General Agent to the Corps of Gentlemen Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry in Great Britain, and that His Majesty has been pleased to approve thereof.

I am further to acquaint you that, after you have caused the accounts of your Corps to be made out and sent to the War Office, you will please to draw on me at this office, No. 7 Spring Gardens, where your bills will be accepted at thirty days' sight.

When you have occasion to write to me, you will transmit your letter in a cover, directed "The Right Honorable the Secretary at War, War Office, London," taking care to write the words, "Volunteer Agency," at the bottom of the left hand corner, and it will give me pleasure at all times to furnish you with any information that you may require.

I take this occasion to mention that Mr John Ridge, with my sanction, will occasionally correspond with you on the business of Volunteer Agency, and I must request that you will do me the favor to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, in order that I may be acquainted with your hand writing.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

To Major Rind, Officer Commanding the Volunteer Infantry, Stirling.

Letter, the Duke of Montrose to Provost Glas.

1st July, 1803.

SIR,—I inclose, for you to communicate to the Commanding Officer of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers, the regulations during the war for pay, clothing, &c., fixed by the Secretary of State for Volunteer Infantry.

It is not yet finally settled whether the L.S.V. are to consist of 60 or 80 rank and file each company; when it is, I will take care to inform you.—I remain, with esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

To Provost Glas, D.L., S.

Copy regulations during war for the pay, clothing, and allowance for contingent expenses for Corps of Volunteer Infantry.

1st. Every corps claiming pay to engage to serve in the military district in which it is situated.

2nd. Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private man to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to His Majesty.

3d. To a battalion of ten companies, or a corps of from 250 to 500 private men and upwards, constant pay to be allowed for an adjutant and sergeant-major; and to a corps of from 150 to 250 private men, constant pay for a sergeant-major.

4th. A company claiming pay to consist of not less than 50 nor more than 100 private men, with 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign (2 lieutenants to the flank companies and to such as consist of 80 private men), together with 3 sergeants (including the drill sergeant), 2 corporals, and 2 drummers per company.

5th. Sergeants receiving constant daily pay, and all drummers receiving pay, either of a daily or weekly rate, to be attested, and to be subjected to military law.

6th. One officer in each company, not above the degree of captain, if taken from the half pay, having served at least eighteen months on full pay as a commissioned officer in the Regulars, Marines, Embodied Militia, Fencibles, or East India Company's Service, to have the constant pay of his Volunteer commission during his service in a Volunteer Corps; or one officer in each company not above the degree of captain, if not on half pay, but having formerly served two years on full pay as a commissioned officer in any of the above-mentioned military services, to have constant pay equal to the half pay of his Volunteer commission during his service in a Volunteer Corps; the other captains, lieutenants, and ensigns to have pay for the like number of days as the men, but no officer to receive pay for two commissions.

7th. When a charge of constant full pay or constant half pay is made for an officer, his former services must be particularly stated in the pay list wherein the charge is first made.

8th. When not called out on actual service,

constant pay to be allowed for 1 sergeant and 1 drummer per company, at the same rates as in the disembodied Militia; the pay of the drummer to be distributed at the discretion of the commandant. Pay, as disembodied Militia, for the rest of the sergeants and drummers, and for the corporals and private men, to be allowed for two days in the week from 25th February to 24th October, and for one day in the week from 25th October to 24th February, both inclusive, being 85 days per annum; but for effectives only present under arms on each respective day. Pay may, however, be charged for persons absent by sickness for a period not exceeding three months, on the commanding officer's certificate to that effect.

9th. If a corps or any part thereof shall be called upon in case of riot or disturbance the charge of constant pay to be made for such services must be at the rates before specified in the margin, and be supported by a certificate from His Majesty's Lieutenant or the Sheriff of the County; but if called out in case of actual invasion, the corps is to be paid and disciplined in all respects as the Regular Infantry, the Artillery Companies excepted, which are then to be paid as the Royal Artillery.

10th. The whole to be clothed in red, with the exception of the Corps of Artillery, which may have blue clothing, and Rifle Corps which may have green with black belts.

**Allowance for Clothing—**

£3	3	9	for each Sergeant.
1	12	0	for each Corporal.
2	3	6	for each Drummer.
1	10	0	for each Private man.

and to be repeated at the end of three years; the Sergeant-Major and 1 Sergeant and 1 Drummer per Company to have clothing annually.

11th. An annual allowance to be made for each company, in lieu of every contingent expense heretofore defrayed by Government, viz., £25 for companies of 50 private men, with an additional allowance of £5 for every 10 private men beyond that number.

12th. Field officers and adjutant to be allowed the tax for one horse each.

13th. The pay lists to be made up quarterly,

*viz.* :—From the 25th December to the 24th March following, from 25th March to the 24th June, from 25th June to 24th September, and from 25th September to 24th December; and to be transmitted by post, under cover, addressed to the Secretary at War.

14th. A General Agent will be immediately appointed by Government to act for the whole of the Volunteer Corps receiving pay, and the necessary instructions on that head will be circulated from the War Office to the respective Commandants.

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Letter, Major Rind to George Hassell, Esq.

Stirling, 2nd July, 1803.

SIR,—Having this morning received a letter from the Secretary at War informing me of your appointment as Agent of the Volunteer Infantry, I shall esteem it a favor your giving me the necessary information on the following subjects:—

1st. As our services were accepted of by His Majesty on the 23rd of May, and the Corps was mustered and sworn in on the 30th, since which they have been regularly at exercise two days in the week, I request to be informed whether or not we are to draw pay from the date of our being sworn in, and what number of months in advance.

2d. The Corps having supplied themselves with accoutrements, I beg to know to whom the application is to be made for the 6s 10d per set allowed by Government, and when I am to draw for it.

3d. I wish to know what allowance I am entitled to draw. I am gazetted as Major Commandant of the L.S.V., and am a Captain in the Bengal Army. I beg to inform you that there is only one other officer in the Corps who was in the Regulars before—Captain Wallace, from the half pay of the 9th.

4th. I request you will have the goodness to send me any Act of Parliament or any regulation respecting the Volunteers that is already or may hereafter be issued.—I have the honor to be sir, &c.,

(Signed) J. N. R.

To George Hassell, Esq., General Agency Office,  
No. 7 Spring Gardens, London.

Letter, George Hassell to Major Rind.

General Agency Office,  
No. 7 Spring Gardens, 9th July, 1803.

SIR,—I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and have the honor to inform you that the pay of your Corps commenced from the date of His Majesty's acceptance of their offer of service. The pay of the officers is to be charged in the pay lists from the day on which their commissions are dated. You are at liberty to draw upon me on account of your Corps either monthly or quarterly.

In the printed regulations transmitted by the Secretary at War, and in my circular letter of the 29th June, you will find detailed all the requisite information upon other points referred to in your letter. I shall always be glad to furnish you with any information respecting the pay and allowances of your Corps, and on other matters; you will, of course, apply to the proper department.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

Circular letter, Lieut.-General Vyse to the Duke of Montrose, Lord Lieutenant of Stirlingshire, and his Deputies.

Edinburgh, July 18th, 1803.

MY LORD,—As it is of infinite importance to the public service that not a moment should be lost in forming and completing the Volunteer Establishments of North Britain, I do myself the honor of sending you the following forms of returns, which it is necessary to transmit without delay to the Adjutant General's Office at this place, as well as to the office of the Secretary of State for the War Department, and to the other offices, as you will find it directed upon the face of one of the said returns (No. 1).

Inclosure No. 1 contains a form for the proposed establishment of each Volunteer Corps, which is to be transmitted as therein directed.

Inclosure No. 2 is the form of engagement which has been approved of by His Majesty's

Secretary of State for the War Department, and which having been so, it is supposed that it will be cheerfully adopted by every Volunteer Corps of a similar description to those which are now enrolled, and acting under it.

Inclosure No. 3 contains the forms of two returns, viz., one for cavalry and one for infantry, which must be regularly transmitted to the Adjutant General's Office, Edinburgh, so as to arrive there on the 1st of every month; duplicates of which must likewise be transmitted to the General Officer commanding the district in which each Volunteer Corps in the county over which you preside as His Majesty's Lieutenant has been raised, and is now actually serving.

I do myself the honor of sending you ten copies of Inclosure No. 1, ten copies of Inclosure No. 2, and fourteen of Inclosure No. 3, viz., four copies for cavalry and ten for infantry. As more forms must consequently be wanted, you will be so good as to acquaint the Commanding Officers of the different Volunteer Corps in your county that they may be procured from Mr Simpson, stationer, Royal Exchange, Edinburgh.—I have the honor to be your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) R. VYSE, Lt.-Genl.

To the Duke of Montrose, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Stirling, &c., &c.

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' The following appeared in the *London Gazette*, 21st June, 1803:—"War Office, June 21st, 1803.—Stirling Volunteers.—James Nathaniel Rind, Esq., to be Major Commandant; to be Captains—James Chrystal, Esq., Edward Alexander, Esq., Captain Andrew Wallace, on half pay of the 9th Foot; to be Lieutenants—Peter Littlejohn, Robert Sconce, and James Forman; to be Ensigns—George Wingate, Robert Campbell, and John Glas, junior; to be Chaplain—Rev. John Russell; to be Quartermaster—John Runceman; to be Surgeon—Dr Thomas Rind."

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Stirling, 15th August, 1803.

Provost Glas of Stirling, as Deputy Lieutenant, called together the officers of the Corps of the

Loyal Stirling Volunteers, and they being all present, excepting Captain Andrew Wallace who is appointed to the 53 Regiment, the Provost delivered a message to them from His Grace the Lord Lieutenant of the County, regarding the importance of the present time, and recommending a promptitude and cordiality in the management of the Corps, which message was received with the greatest respect and resolution on the part of the officers to follow forth.

Thereafter the officers unanimously renewed the appointment they formerly made of Lieut. Robert Sconce to be their Paymaster and the Paymaster of the Corps, and resolve that the Major Commandant shall draw in his favor from time to time and as often as necessary for the pay of both officers and men, and that he shall pay them as formerly, and make up and keep proper lists for that purpose, and the drafts for the contingent allowances of the Corps shall also be in his favor, and that he shall pay the contingences and keep the accounts and vouchers of the expenditure of the contingences as formerly, and shall account to the officers for the same from time to time as often as called for. For which Paymastership he is to be allowed at the rate of ten pounds sterling yearly for each company. And the officers commanding companies hereby engage for Lieut. Sconce's responsibility regarding the pay and contingences; resolved also that the allowance for clothing to the Corps be drawn for in favor of Mr Sconce, and paid by him as formerly. To all which the Deputy Lieutenant interpones his authority.

JOHN GLAS, D.L.

JAMES NATH. RIND, M.C.

JAMES CHRYSTAL.

E. ALEXANDER.

PETER LITTLEJOHN.

JAMES FORMAN.

GEO. WINGATE.

J. GLAS, JUN.

R. CAMPBELL.

The following paper, having been transmitted from the War Office to Major Rind, was by him shewn to the officers on the 18th August, 1803, and on that date handed to the Secretary to be recorded.

June, 1803.

Information for the guidance of the Commandants of Corps of Volunteer Infantry.

The pay of the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates of the Corps to commence from the time of their assembling to exercise, provided it be not earlier than the date of His Majesty's acceptance of their offer of service, for so many effectives as were mustered and returned to the War Office, and for those who were afterwards mustered and have attended their exercise.

The pay of the commissioned officers is to be charged in the pay list from the day on which their commissions are dated; and as a misconception of the meaning of a paragraph in the printed regulations—respecting the pay of officers above the degree of Captains holding commissions—has in some instances occurred, it may be right to mention that the purport of it is that field officers of Volunteer Corps, with or without commissions, are not to receive pay of any kind. The pay lists need not be transmitted for the broken period of the first quarter, but may be made up and charged in the accounts of the next succeeding quarter.

The bills for the clothing allowance will be accepted at thirty days' sight, after such clothing shall have been actually delivered to the men, and the requisite certificate at the foot of the pay list filled up and signed by the Commandant of the Corps and transmitted to the Secretary at War; taking care to forward to the General Agent an abstract of the number of effectives who have been clothed with the amount of the same.

When the Commandant of any Corps has forwarded his quarterly pay lists to the War Office, he should transmit to the General Agent an abstract stating the sum total of each pay list, and the amount of the sum claimed for the allowance of his Corps, agreeably to the printed regulations, for the said quarter; such abstract to

be inclosed in the letter advising that he will draw on the General Agent for the amount.

Whenever the Commandant of any Corps shall desire to transfer his claim to draw for the pay and allowance of his Corps, he must write a letter to the General Agent specifying the name, &c., of the gentleman he may desire to appoint for the purpose of drawing any bill or of corresponding with the General Agent on the business of the Corps, after which the draft of the gentleman so appointed will be accepted at thirty days' sight. The person drawing such bill will take care always to advise the General Agent, at the same time inclosing the requisite abstracts above referred to.

The dates of the commissions of officers of Volunteer Corps rest entirely with His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, who must be addressed through the Lord Lieutenant of the County.

If the Commandant should at any time desire an augmentation in the establishment thereof, or any alteration in the title of the Corps, or names of the officers, the same must be transmitted through the Lord Lieutenant of the County to His Majesty's Secretary of State, in order to the amendment being adopted.

All applications for arms, ammunition, accoutrements, &c., or for any allowance in lieu of accoutrements, should be addressed to the Master General of the Board of Ordnance.

In order to prevent mistakes, the Commanding Officer of each Corps should add his rank and the title of his Corps to his signature in any correspondence or bill that he may draw on the General Agent, whose business relates chiefly to the pay and allowance to be issued to Volunteer Corps, and if the Commandants of Corps require any further information, application should be made to the Secretary at War.

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The following appeared in the *London Gazette*:  
—"War Office, September 27th.—Stirling Volunteer Infantry.—Lieut. Peter Littlejohn, to be Captain, vice Wallace; Ensign George Wingate, to be Lieutenant, vice Littlejohn; Walter Stirling Glas, to be Ensign."

Copy letter, Mr John Ridge to Major Rind.

7 Spring Gardens, 3d October, 1803.

SIR,—I have the honor to inclose thirteen commissions for officers in the Corps under your command, for which I have paid sixteen pounds five shillings, being one pound five shillings each, and for which I request you will favor me with a remittance.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN RIDGE.

Addressed, Officer Commanding Stirling Volunteers.

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Copy letter, Mr George Hassell to Major Rind.

General Agency Office,  
for the pay of Volunteer Corps,  
Spring Gardens, 25th October, 1803.

SIR,—I am to acquaint you that if the service of your Corps should require it, you may immediately draw upon me for the estimated amount of your pay lists up to the 24th November, taking care not to charge for the pay of the officers from a period prior to the dates of their commissions, nor for more than one day's pay in the week from the 24th October to the 24th proximo, calculating the contingent allowance from the date of the acceptance of your offer of service, and you will advise me as soon as you have occasion to draw your bill.

In the event of your requiring monthly advances, it is requisite that you should, on the 1st of every month, transmit to me an estimate—according to the form herewith inclosed—of the advance required for the succeeding month, commencing on the 25th, which sum may be drawn for on the 24th of the month, taking particular care that the same does not exceed one third of your quarterly pay list.

If you should choose to draw for your pay quarterly, you will, on the 1st of the month, forward to me an estimate—in a form similar to that above referred to—of the full amount of your pay lists for the quarter ending on the 24th; you will in either case transmit to me the quarterly abstract of such pay lists in the form of an account current—herewith also inclosed—and

your bill for the amount will be accepted, drawn in the following form :—

£ 1803.  
thirty days after sight pay  
to or order, the sum  
of value, in  
account of pay and contingencies of the  
Volunteer Infantry, as  
per advice from

Commandant of the Volunteer Infantry.

To the General Agent for Volunteer Corps, Spring Gardens, London.

In which form your bills in future will be accepted, and, in order to save you trouble in unnecessary correspondence, you will, on the 1st of the month, advise me of your bill to be drawn on the 24th. When you have transmitted your clothing certificate to the War Office, you will also advise me thereof, at least ten days prior to your drawing for the amount of the same, which draft is to be in the form above mentioned, inserting the word "clothing" in lieu of "pay and contingencies."

I have earnestly to solicit that you will be punctual in transmitting your quarterly pay lists to the War Office, without which I cannot be authorised to accept your bills.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

To Major Jas. N. Rind, Commandant of Volunteer Infantry, Stirling.

Copy circular letter, the Secretary at War to Major Rind.

War Office, 22nd November, 1803.

SIR,—In order that, in the event of the Corps under your command being called out into actual service, no time may be lost in appointing a Paymaster thereto, I inclose herewith a memorandum, explaining the steps to be taken for that purpose; and am to request that you will now recommend an officer for the above employment, in the manner therein mentioned. Upon the receipt of your recommendation, the usual inquiries as to the responsibility of the sureties

will be immediately made; so that when the Corps is called out, it will only remain to prepare the bonds, and when they are executed, to make out the instrument of appointment.

The officer recommended may, however, act as Paymaster, under your own responsibility, from the time when the Corps may be placed on regular pay, and may receive his allowance accordingly, provided he makes up all the accounts from that date.

Whenever the Paymaster is called upon to act, a Paymaster's Clerk may also be appointed from among the non-commissioned officers or privates of the Corps, who, if a sergeant, will continue to receive the pay of that rank; or if a corporal or private, will have his pay made up to that of sergeant.

The allowances to the Paymaster and the Clerk are of course only to continue while the Corps remains on regular pay; but if the Corps should at any time cease to be employed, and should afterwards be again called out, the Paymaster may resume his functions, under the authority of his original appointment.

Instructions, &c., for the information and guidance of the Paymaster, will be forwarded to you with as little delay as possible.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) C. BRAGGS.

To Major J. N. Rind, Volunteers, Stirling.

\* The pay of the Paymaster of a corps of not less than three troops or companies is fifteen shillings a day, including that of his regimental commission. In a corps of two troops or companies, he receives an allowance of £4 5s per month; and in a corps of one troop or company, £2 10 per month, in addition to his regimental pay. The contingent allowances for postage, stationery, &c., will be specified in the instructions above alluded to.

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Memorandum of the steps required to be taken in regard to the recommendation and appointment of a Paymaster in a Volunteer Corps called out into actual service.

The Colonel or Commandant is to recommend one of the Subalterns of the Corps to be Master,

transmitting at the same time the names, residences, and situations in life of the Paymaster's intended sureties, accompanied with a reference on the part of each proposed surety to two respectable householders or other persons of known credit, whose residence, profession, or occupation is likewise to be specified.

If, after inquiry relative to the responsibility of the proposed sureties, they are deemed eligible in point of character and circumstances, bonds will be made out at this office and forwarded to the Paymaster and the sureties; which bonds are to be executed and returned without delay to the Secretary at War, who, on the receipt thereof complete, will immediately transmit an instrument of appointment for the Paymaster to the Colonel or Commandant, who is to sign, seal, and return the same to the War Office, from whence, when registered, it will be again sent to the Colonel or Commandant, to be by him delivered to the Paymaster.

A Paymaster gives bond for one\* thousand pounds; the sureties for five hundred pounds each.

It is necessary that the Christian names of the person recommended to be Paymaster, as well as those of his sureties, should be stated at full length; and that in describing the respective places of residence of the latter, the particular county or city wherein they are situated should be accurately specified, in order to prevent those mistakes which frequently arise from the want of such proper description being furnished by the Colonels or Commandants of Corps, and by the persons recommended for Paymasterships.

\* In Corps of only one or two troops or companies, the Paymaster is only required to give his personal security for £500, and to find two sureties for £250 each.

Copy letter, His Grace the Duke of Montrose to Provost Connal, of Stirling.

Glasgow, 8th December, 1803.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to inclose Lord Moira's letter in answer to mine, informing him of your letter and the ready zeal of Major Rind and the Loyal Stirling Volunteers.

I beg to join in the sentiments of the Com-

manding Officer of the Forces in Scotland, and request that you will, as Deputy Lieutenant of Stirling, communicate my thanks and Lord Moira's letter to Major Rind, to be communicated to the Loyal Stirling Volunteers.—I remain, with esteem, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) MONTROSE.

To Provost of Stirling, Deputy Lieutenant,  
Stirlingshire.

Copy of Earl Moira's letter, inclosed in the above.

Edinburgh, December 6th, 1803.

MY LORD,—I am much indebted to your Grace for your letter, inclosing the very handsome proof of active zeal on the part of the Provost of Stirling and the neighbouring Volunteers. On inquiry I find that it had been expected the 1st Division of the 2d Battalion of the 18th Regiment of Foot would, according to their route, have marched into Stirling Castle the same day upon which the last division of the 26th Regiment quitted it, but undoubtedly a matter of that sort ought not to have been left to any failure. However, the chance of that failure might be improbable. Let me intreat your Grace to return my best thanks to the Provost of Stirling for his immediate advancement to the omission, as well as to the Volunteers for the allacrity with which they offered their service.—I have the honor to remain, with the greatest respect, my Lord, your Grace's most humble servant,

(Signed) MOIRA, General.

To the Duke of Montrose, &c., &c.

Copy letter, Major Rind to Major Hay of the  
Falkirk Volunteers.

13th December, 1803.

SIR,—As I have been informed that in the event of the Volunteers in this county being called out on service, the Corps under your command is to be joined with the Loyal Stirling Volunteers; this being the case, it is the wish of the officers of this Corps, in which they hope to be joined by your officers, that an application should be made to the Lord Lieutenant to have the Corps joined, which will enable them to meet occasionally, when the weather permits, for

exercise, which will be greatly for the benefit of both Corps, as well as making not only the officers but men acquainted with each other.

It is not wished nor intended from this that the Corps should be put to any inconveniency, or to move from their homes, unless called upon actual service, but merely that they may have it in their power to meet when they please.

The officers of the Loyal Stirling Volunteers flatter themselves the above proposal will meet the approbation of your officers, in the event of which, on receipt of your answer, application will be immediately made to the Lord Lieutenant, and this will only be forwarding what Government intends.

Our Corps consists of three companies of 60 rank and file, besides officers and non-commissioned officers.

I shall be happy to hear from you in answer to the above, and have the honor to remain, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES NATHANIEL RIND.

To Major Hay, Commanding the Loyal Falkirk Volunteers.

Copy circular letter, Mr Hassell to Major Rind.

Spring Garden, December 13th, 1803.

SIR,—I am to acquaint you it is the established practice of the War Office that the accounts of each year are to be kept perfectly distinct. All bills therefore for sums on account of this year are to be drawn separate from those of the year ensuing; and in order to prevent the disagreeable necessity of returning any bills drawn on me by the Commandants of Volunteer Corps, from the circumstance of their inserting in one draft whatever balance may be due on the pay lists ending the 24th December, 1803 (when the military year ends), with the sums required in advance for the month of January, 1804, I must request that you will be pleased to draw a separate bill for each distinct account, specifying the period for which the pay and allowances are drawn.

I am also to acquaint you it is absolutely requisite that your pay lists for the quarter ending the 24th December, 1803, should be received at the War Office previously to my

accepting any bill for the month of January, 1804, and that in future all the quarterly pay lists must be made up, signed, and regularly transmitted to the War Office prior to your drawing any bill on account of the succeeding quarter.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

To Major James Rind, Commandant of the Stirling Volunteer Infantry.

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Copy letter, Mr Alex. Anderson, Depute Secretary to the Forces, N. Britain, to Colonel Rind.

Edinburgh, 7th March, 1804.

SIR,—In answer to your letter of the 6th instant, I have the honor to acquaint you that Mr Hassell, General Agent for Volunteer Corps, is the person on whom you should draw for pay and allowances due to officers and men of the regiment under your command.

He will also procure for you information respecting the amount of the allowances, and the manner in which it is required that they should be made up and vouched, circumstances which have not yet been communicated to the officers in Scotland.

I understand that forms of returns for the Adjutant-General's Office are to be had (printed) from Mr Simpson, bookseller, Exchange, Edinburgh, from whom I will endeavour to procure a copy of each, before the departure of the post, and inclose.

The forms of monthly statements of allowances, which require the sanction of the General commanding, and which pass through my office, are furnished by the War Office, and also of the monthly pay lists, which are transmitted directly to the War Office.

Possibly these last mentioned forms may not be deemed necessary for corps whereof a small detachment only is called out on duty, but a simpler method of settling accounts with them adopted.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) ALEX. ANDERSON,  
D. Secy. to the Forces, N.B.

To Lieut.-Col. Rind, Stirling Volunteers, &c.

Copy letter, Mr Hassell to Col. Rind.

Spring Garden, 13th March, 1804.

SIR,—I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 8th instant, and have the honor to acquaint you that I shall most readily accept the bill you advise for £170 on account of the permanent duty pay of the Stirling Volunteers.

The manner in which the pay and allowances while on permanent duty are to be drawn is in bills at the longest period after sight at which they can be negotiated at par, and the accounts of this service must be kept perfectly distinct from any other, but the regulations with the forms of pay lists, &c., are not issued from the War Office.

The lodging-money of officers in quarters must be drawn through the Barrackmaster-General; but in respect to the billet-money for the men, as the regulations by which that and similar allowances will be fixed are not issued, I conceive it may be charged at the rates fixed for the embodied Militia, and drawn for through my department.

I have to request that previous to drawing any sum on account of permanent duty, you will transmit to me an estimate, signed by you as Commandant, in which the sums required for each rank are to be specified from the day your Corps actually marched out, and for the whole period the same is to perform permanent duty.—I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

To Lieut.-Col. Rind, Stirling Volunteers.

Copy circular letter, Mr Hassell to Col. Rind.

Spring Garden, 25th March, 1804.

SIR,—I have the honor to inclose to you a copy and an extract of letters from Mr Secretary Yorke to the Secretary at War, dated the 15th and 16th instant, on the subject of pay to field officers holding companies in Volunteer Corps, who have formerly served in terms of the regulations of June, 1803.

I have the directions of the Secretary at War to inform you, that much inconvenience having been experienced in consequence of the allowance in lieu of contingent expenses having been drawn

for monthly—by which means the bills accepted in advance for the quarter generally exceed the amount of the pay lists—you are in future to omit including the same in your estimate, whether monthly or quarterly, and you are to draw for that allowance at the expiration of the quarter, it being intended to balance the amount of the pay lists transmitted to the War Office.

I shall thank you to be punctual in transmitting your quarterly accounts current, and at the expiration of the military year, ending the 24th December, you will transmit a further account, on the debit side of which you will specify each of the bills drawn for the service of the year, and on the credit side insert the amount of the quarterly pay lists respectively, as well as the certificate of the clothing annually delivered to the Sergeant-Major (if your Corps is intitled to an appointment of this nature), one Sergeant and one Drummer per company.

In order to promote accuracy in the accounts, it is extremely desirable that the service as well as the period for which your bills are drawn should be distinctly specified in the body of the same, and that particular care should be taken not to blend the sums drawn for an account of one year with those drawn for on account of the succeeding year.

Should the Corps be for any period on permanent duty, the allowances granted under the June regulations will, of course, cease during such period. The accounts applicable to permanent duty are to be made up according to instructions which will be communicated to you by the Secretary at War, and must be kept perfectly distinct from the quarterly pay lists.

I have earnestly to direct your attention, in the event of your drawing monthly, to the instructions contained in my letter dated 25th October, 1803, in respect to the transmission of an estimate on the first day of the month, as a considerable degree of unnecessary trouble has been in many instances occasioned by an inattention to this regulation.

It is extremely desirable that duplicates of the pay lists transmitted to the War Office should be retained by the Commandant, and for this purpose, pay lists equal to double the number of companies

of which your Corps consists will be transmitted from the above mentioned department.

You will have the goodness to subjoin your rank and the title of your Corps to your signature in any correspondence you have with me as General Agent; and with a view to facilitate an expeditious and ready communication, I shall feel obliged by your specifying in your address the nearest post town to your place of residence, and the county in which it is situated.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

To Lieut.-Col. Rind, Stirling Volunteers.

Copy letter, George Hassell to Lieut.-Col. Rind.  
Spring Garden, 11th April, 1804.

SIR,—I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 3d instant, and have the honor to acquaint you that the regulations applicable to corps on permanent duty are not yet issued, and it is understood they will not be until the Bill at present dependant in Parliament has passed.—I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GEO. HASSELL.

To Lt.-Col. J. N. Rind, Stirling Volunteers.

[The Committee's minutes stop here, but there is a roll of the Volunteers at the end of the book, which we subjoin. There is a column for age of Volunteers in addition to height, but this is not filled in, and a column for marks on arms is also blank. The words within parenthesis appear in the column giving date of retirement.]

#### A

Edward Alexander, merchant, Stirling, 2d Company; joined, 19th April, 1803.

John Aikman, weaver, Cambusbarron, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 25th June, 1803 (not clothed). Height, 5 ft. 4½ in.

Robert Allan, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Captain Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.

- William Allan, weaver, Newhouse, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 2d June, 1803; retired, 21st July, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- Robert Aikman, baker, Newhouse, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- George Allison, wright, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 16th June, 1803.

B

- Finlay Brown, carver and gilder, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- William Bowie, senr., weaver, Newhouse, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.
- Thomas Brown, manufacturer, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- William Belcher, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- James Bruce, smith, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- William Brown, merchant, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 26th August, 1803 (not clothed).
- William Brember, stocking maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10 in.
- Alexr. Binnie, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10½ in.
- John Bogle, taylor, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- James Balfour, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 26th August, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- David Bell, clock maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- John Brymner, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- Andrew Buchanan, brewer, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- Alexr. Black, weaver, Newhouse, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.

- Wm. Bowie (2d), wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- James Burgess, wool comber, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- John Benson, writer, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 24th June, 1803 (not clothed).
- James Bald, weaver, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- John Boyd, mason, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, May, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.
- Robt. Buchanan, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 11th June, 1803; retired, 4th July, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- Alexr. Bowie, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- James Bell, weaver, Whins, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- James Buchan, riddle maker, Whins, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- Wm. Buchan, riddle maker, Whins, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- Thomas Buchanan, shop keeper, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 25th June, 1803.
- William Baird, sawer, Stirling, Capt. Alexander's; joined, 18th July, 1803; retired, 26th August, 1803 (not clothed, never attended drill).
- Peter Bell, wright, Stirling, Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 9th August, 1803 (never attended and struck off 8th September).
- Alexr. Black (2d), weaver, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 20th September, 1803; retired, 2d April, 1804.
- Peter Black, weaver, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 29th March, 1804.
- James Burgess, wright, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 2nd April, 1804; retired, 17th April, 1804.
- John Black, baker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 3d April, 1804.
- Peter Bogle, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 4th April, 1804.
- John Border, innkeeper, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 6th April, 1804.

C

- James Chrystal, writer, Stirling, 1st Company;  
joined, 19th April, 1803.
- Robert Campbell, writer, Stirling, 1st Company;  
joined, 10th May, 1803.
- William Coutts, hair dresser, Stirling, 1st Company;  
joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10½ in.
- John Cochrane, writer, Stirling, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft.  
4½ in.
- Robert Cairns, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9 in.
- James Comrie, weaver, Raploch, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- Charles Cowie, shoe maker, Cambusbarron, 1st or  
Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803.  
5 ft. 5½ in.
- Alexr. Coutts, taylor, Stirling, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft.  
2½ in.
- John Crawford, taylor, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- James Cairns, carter, Stirling; joined, 19th April,  
1803 (never joined).
- John Chirrie, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803;  
retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- James Chirrie, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803;  
retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- William Chirrie, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803;  
retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Murray Campbell, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's;  
joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- Thos. Crawford, plaisterer, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- John Christie, sawer, Causeyhead, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft.  
9½ in.
- Thomas Clawson, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6¼ in.
- John Cameron, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired,  
2d July, 1803. 5 ft. 2½ in.
- William Cowie, shoe maker, Cambusbarron, 1st or  
Capt. Chrystal's; 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.
- James Coutts, hair dresser, Stirling, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired,  
4th April, 1804. 5 ft. 5½ in.

- Thos. Chalmers, carpet weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 11th June, 1803. 5 ft. 2 in.
- Thos. Cochrane, weaver, St Ninians, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 11th June, 1803; retired, 4th July, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- Peter Carmichael (1st), grocer, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- John Cairns, weaver, Whins, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 11th June, 1803; retired, 15th August, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- William Christie, shoe maker, St Ninians, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired, 2d July, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- William Campbell, weaver, Craigs, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- Peter Carmichael (2d), brewer, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 17th June, 1803; retired, 8th September, 1803.
- James Campbell, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 25th June, 1803.
- Wm. Cunningham, glazier, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 19th July, 1803; retired, 26th August, 1803 (not clothed, never attended drill).
- Wm. Christie, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 29th July, 1803.

## D

- William Davie, St Ninians; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- Peter Dewar, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Robert Dawson, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Thomas Dawson, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- James Dewar, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Charles Dow, weaver, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- James Dow, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 8 in.
- Peter Dougal, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, May, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.
- Robert Dick, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 26th August, 1803 (not clothed). 5 ft. 9½ in.

William Denovan, weaver, Bannockburn, 3d or Captain Wallace's; joined, 2d June, 1803. 6 ft.

Alexr. Dewar, fisher, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).

Campbell Denovan, weaver, Bannockburn, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.

Robt. Denovan, weaver, Bannockburn, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804. 5 ft. 9½ in.

James Denovan, weaver, Bannockburn, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 6 ft.

John Dow, weaver, Stirling; joined, 16th June, 1803 (never joined).

James Dow (2d), weaver, Stirling, Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 7th January, 1804.

John Drysdale, weaver, Stirling, Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 9th April, 1804.

#### E

William Ewing, flesher, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.

John Ewing, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).

#### F

James Forman, merchant, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803.

John Fraser, hair dresser, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.

James Finlayson, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 3½ in.

John Forman, maltman, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.

James Frater, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9 in.

John Ferguson, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).

David Forsyth, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; 11th June, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.

Robert Forrester, wright, St Ninians, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.

James Foggo, baker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 3d April, 1804.

## G

- John Glas, jun., merchant, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 10th May, 1803.
- John Galloway, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d April, 1804. 5 ft. 8½ in.
- James Grahame, taylor, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- William Grant, turner, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- William Grahame, taylor, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- William Gilchrist, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- David Grey, skinner, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- William Garrow, waiter, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d April, 1804. 5 ft. 3 in.
- James Garrow, sawer, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.
- James Glen, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- William Garrow, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Thomas Garrow, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- John Gentle, merchant, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 1st August, 1803 (dismissed).
- John Gillies, skinner, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- John Gilchrist, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- Edward Garrow, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 7th June, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- John Gillespie, brewer, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 7th June, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- Thomas Gilfillan, skinner, Craigs, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 8 in.
- Walter S. Glas, residenter, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 27th September, 1803.

H

- Robert Hosey, weaver, Cambusbarron, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- David Hunter, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- John Hunter, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Duncan Henderson, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 7th June, 1803.
- Robert Henderson, shoe maker, Cambusbarron, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- Robert Hamilton, weaver, Whins of Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired, 20th August, 1803 (not clothed). 5 ft. 6 in.
- Robert Haldane, writer, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 27th July, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804.

I

- James Irvine, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 16th June, 1803.

J

- David Jameson, school master, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- James Jaffray, weaver, Cambusbarron, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- John Jameson, weaver, Cambusbarron, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- Robert Jameson, weaver, Cambusbarron, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- Andrew Jameson, weaver, Cambusbarron, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 19th August, 1803 (not clothed).
- Michael Jaffray, weaver, St Ninians, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- William Jaffray, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 19th September, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- James Jameson, innkeeper, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- John Jaffray, copper smith, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 2d April, 1804.

## K

- Andrew King, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- David Kennedy, merchant, St Ninians, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d April, 1804.
- John Kincaid, weaver, St Ninians; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired, 17th June, 1803 (not clothed). 5 ft. 6 in.
- James King, wright, St Ninians, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 16th June, 1803; retired, 2d July, 1803. 5 ft. 8 in.
- Alexander Key, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- Hugh Kerr, smith, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 5th April, 1804.

## L

- Peter Littlejohn, writer, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- Wm. Lockhart, innkeeper, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 6 ft.
- John Leckie, wright, Cambusbarron, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- Thomas Leighton, nailor, St Ninians, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- Robert Leighton, sailer, St Ninians, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- Wm. Leighton, nailor, St Ninians, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 6 ft.
- Wm. Liddell, weaver, St Ninians, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- Cumbd. Lauder, nurseryman, St Ninians, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.
- Jas. Lockhart, weaver, St Ninians, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- Walter Lyon, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- James Lawrie, taylor, St Ninians, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- James Lyon, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 3d April, 1804.

George Law, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 3d April, 1804.  
 Alex. Lawrie, taylor, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 4th April, 1804 (never joined).  
 James Lindsay, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 6th April, 1804.

M

William M'Kendrick, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.  
 Charles Monteath, cooper, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.  
 James M'Kendrick, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.  
 James M'Arthur, weaver, Newhouse, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.  
 John M'Arthur, weaver, Newhouse, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.  
 James M'Nie, maltman, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, May, 1804.  
 Peter M'Gibbon, taylor, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 4th April, 1804. 6 ft.  
 Charles Moir, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 11 in.  
 Duncan M'Eachion, weaver, Castlehill, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 29th July, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.  
 John M'Ewan, weaver, Raploch; joined, 29th July, 1803.  
 Andrew M'Neil, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.  
 Peter M'Niven, weaver, Cambusbarron, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.  
 James Murdoch, writer, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 13th June, 1803 (not clothed).  
 Daniel M'Donald, shop keeper, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 22nd March, 1804. 5 ft. 7½ in.

- James M'Gibbon, shop keeper, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- John Martin, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- William Mair, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- John Methvin, weaver, Craigs, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- John Malcom, skinner, Craigs, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10 in.
- John Methvin, banker, Craigs, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10½ in.
- George Morrison, weaver, Craigs, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- James Manwell, wright, Craigs, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- Archibald Murdoch, merchant, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 4th November, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- Robert M'Leran, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- John Marshall, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Alexr. Methvin, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- John Marshall, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Archd. M'Lellan, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Alexr. M'Nellan, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- Daniel Mells, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed).
- John M'Leran, shoe maker, Raploch, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- James Mathie, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 3d June, 1803 (not clothed). 5 ft. 9½ in.
- James Murray, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9 in.
- William M'Gibbon, residenter, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- Walter M'Killop, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10½ in.

- Robert M'Pherson, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 3 in.
- James Melles, merchant, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- Peter M'Cowan, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- Wm. M'Grigor, resider, Raploch, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, April, 1803. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- Alexr. Mitchell, weaver, Newhouse, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 16th June, 1803; retired,  
27th July, 1803 (not clothed). 5 ft. 5 in.
- William Morrison, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, 2d June, 1803; retired,  
13th November, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- Wm. M'Donald, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 2d June, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.
- James Miller, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 2d June, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- John Maxwell, hair dresser, Stirling, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 2d June, 1803; retired,  
17th April, 1804. 5 ft. 3 in..
- Hugh M'Donald, taylor, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 11th June, 1803. 5 ft. 10 in.
- John M'Donald, writer, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 11th June, 1803; retired,  
3d April, 1804. 5 ft. 4½ in.
- James Morrison, sieve wright, St Ninians, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 13th June, 1803.  
5 ft. 4½ in.
- Robert M'Killop, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- Francis Malcom, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.
- James M'Donald, weaver, Castlehill, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired,  
15th July, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- William Miller, weaver, Newhouse, 3d or Capt.  
Wallace's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- John Moffat, weaver, Newhouse, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 3 in.
- James Maidment at Craigforthhouse, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 24th June, 1803; retired,  
15th July, 1803 (never joined).
- James Murray (2d), weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt.  
Alexander's; joined, 4th July, 1803; retired,  
29th February, 1804.
- William Mason, resider, Stirling, 1st or Capt.  
Chrystal's; joined, 16th July, 1803.

- John M'Queen, residenter, Causeyhead, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 18th July, 1803.
- John M'Luckie, wright, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 19th July, 1803.
- Alexr. Morrison, mason, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 21st July, 1803; retired, 4th April, 1804.
- James Man, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 22d July, 1803.
- James M'Couat, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 30th August, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804.
- John M'Farlane, wright, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 20th September, 1803.
- Chas. Moncrieff, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 11th October, 1803.
- Robert Moir, servant, Livilande, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 27th October, 1803.
- James M'Leran, weaver, Stirling, Capt. Alexander's; joined, 7th January, 1804.
- Duncan M'Donald, shoe maker, Stirling, Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 12th January, 1804.
- Duncan M'Eachion, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 29th March, 1804.
- Thos. M'Gibbon, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 31st March, 1804.
- John M'Leran, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 4th April, 1804.

## N

- Archibald Neilson, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- Andrew Nicol, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9 in.
- James Neilson, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- George Nisbet, Abbey; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- William Neysmith, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 2d June, 1803; retired, 4th July, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- John Nicholson, carpet weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 2d June, 1803. 5 ft. 9½ in.
- James Nicol, shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 11th June, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.

William Neilson, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired, 21st July, 1803 (dismissed). 5 ft. 9 in.  
Alexr. Neilson, Stirling, Capt. Littlejohn's; joined, 1st February, 1804.

P

Robert Pilling, carpet weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5 in.  
James Pow, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 3 in.  
William Penel, shoe maker, Stirling. 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.  
William Paterson, tanner, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 7th November, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.  
John Paterson, wright, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).  
Houstoun Paterson, wright, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.  
William Peterkin, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9 in.  
William Paul, plaisterer, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 10 in.  
Robert Pow, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined 22nd July, 1803.  
Robert Pennie, weaver, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined 29th March, 1804.

R

James N. Rind, Esq. of Livilands, Major Commandant; joined, 10th May, 1803.  
Dr Thos. Rind, doctor, Stirling, Surgeon.  
John Runceman, nurseryman, Stirling, Quartermaster; joined, 19th April, 1803.  
John Robertson (1st), weaver, Castlehill, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.  
John Robertson (2d), shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.  
George Russell, weaver, Raploch, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6½ in.  
George Robertson, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803.

- Thomas Rogerson, merchant, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 4th April, 1804. 5 ft. 9 in.
- William Rogerson, shop keeper, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804. 5 ft. 2½ in.
- Hugh Ross, slater, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 2 in.
- William Reid, baker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10 in.
- James Ralstone, writer, Stirling; joined, May, 1803; retired, 13th June, 1803 (not clothed).
- John Ralstone, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 3½ in.
- John Robertson (3d), wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 8 in.
- James Robertson (1st), shoe maker, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- James Robertson (2d), shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's (put into 3d Coy.); joined, 13th June, 1803. 5 ft. 7 in.
- Patrick Robertson, writer's clerk, Stirling, Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 17th September, 1803; retired, 1st December, 1803.
- The Rev. Mr Russell, Chaplain, Stirling; joined, May, 1803.

## S

- Robert Sconce, writer, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- Thomas Strathern, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.
- James Stewart, farmer, King's Park, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- Archibald Stewart, weaver, King's Park, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.
- John Stewart (1st), weaver, King's Park, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 6 in.
- Hector Sutherland, weaver, Cambusbarron, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 21st July, 1803 (dismissed). 5 ft. 5 in.
- James Savers, innkeeper, St Ninians, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803.

- James Smith, weaver, Craigs, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 25th June, 1803 (not clothed). 5 ft. 4 in.
- Colin Sharp, taylor, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- James Smart, shoe maker, Craigs, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- Patrick Sutherland, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- Peter Strang, taylor, Raploch, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 7½ in.
- John Sutherland; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).
- Robert Samuel, upholsterer, Stirling. 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 4th July, 1803.
- David Stalker, servant, Raploch, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.
- Robert Stewart, wright, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803.
- Alexr. Smith, painter, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 13th June, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804.
- John Stewart (2d), weaver, Newhouse, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 16th June, 1803. 5 ft. 3½ in.
- John Stewart (3d), smith, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 17th June, 1803; retired, 2d May, 1804.
- John Strang, taylor, Raploch, Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 18th August, 1803.
- George Steven, weaver, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 20th September, 1803.
- Hugh Stewart, wright, Stirling, 2d Company; joined, 2d April, 1804.
- John Sharp, weaver, Stirling, 2d Company; joined, 9th April, 1804.
- John Stalker, Stirling, 1st Company; joined, 19th April, 1804.

T

- Thomas Thomson, taylor, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804. 5 ft. 4 in.
- Walter Towers, shoe maker, St Ninians, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.

Henry Taylor, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 11th June, 1803; retired, 8th September, 1803. 5 ft. 3½ in.  
 George Tower, weaver, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 20th July, 1803; retired, 26th August, 1803 (not clothed).  
 William Taylor, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 30th March, 1804.  
 Robert Thomson, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 2d April, 1804.

#### U

Allan Ure, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 5th July, 1803.

#### W

Andrew Wallace, jun., of Forthside, Forthside, Captain; joined, 10th May, 1803; promoted.  
 George Wingate, merchant, Stirling, Captain; joined, 19th April, 1803.  
 John Williamson, wright, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 10 in.  
 James Watson, taylor, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 9 in.  
 Archibald Watson, wright, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.  
 John Wright, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 5½ in.  
 Robert Watson, weaver, Newhouse, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 4 in.  
 Archibald Watt, weaver, Stirling; joined, 19th April, 1803 (never joined).  
 Robert Williamson, weaver, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 7th June, 1803; retired, 29th February, 1804. 5 ft. 7 in.  
 William Wilson, shoe maker, Stirling, 1st or Capt. Chrystal's; joined, 26th March, 1804.  
 George Watson, taylor, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 4th April, 1804.  
 Alexr. Wilson, shoe maker, Stirling, 3d Company; joined, 5th April, 1804.  
 Duncan Wright, mason, Stirling, 2d or Capt. Alexander's; joined, 7th April, 1804.

#### Y

John Yool, wright, Stirling, 3d or Capt. Wallace's; joined, 19th April, 1803. 5 ft. 8½ in.

THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK IN 1746.

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The following account of the Battle of Falkirk, written in French, was lately discovered in one of the public libraries of Rome. It has evidently been written by a Frenchman who had taken part in that battle. From its not having been referred to by English writers who have treated of the '45, it is believed to be unknown. It is, in fact, not likely to have been previously published in any form.

J. G. F. in *Scotsman*.

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Account of the battle gained in Scotland by H.R.H. Charles Edward, Prince of Wales, over the English troops, commanded by General Hawley, the 28th January, 1746.

We have just gained a complete victory, His Royal Highness having captured the town of Stirling, and immediately thereafter laid siege to the Castle. Our enemies employed every imaginable means to prevent us from transporting our cannon across the river, as these were on the side opposite to that on which the town and Castle of Stirling are situated. They sent twelve boats in order to attack ours on the river. The Duke of Perth and his brother, Lord John, who were entrusted with this matter, managed it so well that our enemies were defeated on every hand.

When, therefore, they saw that there was no other means of obliging us to raise the siege of the Castle, they collected in haste a number of Argyle Highlanders and all the Lowland Militia they could procure. They brought hither also all the regular troops that were in the north of England, even the garrisons of the different towns, so that they were obliged to conduct to Edinburgh three of our pickets that they had taken prisoners, from their not having left any military force at Berwick wherewith they might hold them prisoners there. On the 25th January they advanced so far as Falkirk, a small town, eighteen miles from Edinburgh and six miles from Stirling. The Prince, who had this same day opened fire from the trenches on the castle, selected a field of battle from where the siege operations could be covered, and we there awaited the enemy during three days. At length, weary of waiting, and seeing no sign of their arrival,

having neither tents nor food, separated into different quarters, and always exposed to a night attack, on the 28th we resolved to go in search of the enemy. We marched to meet them in two columns formed of two lines, in the same order in which we were to fight, so that on being confronted with the enemy we had only to charge.

The enemy had been informed of our advance, so that we met them about a mile beyond their camp, and we saw they were trying to secure a position above us on the hillside, where we were. This they were able to accomplish. Their army was composed of two regiments of cavalry that had arrived the same day from England; two regiments of Dragoons that had been engaged in the affair of Glasmur; fourteen regiments of infantry, most of whom had been engaged at Fontenoy; eight hundred Argyll Highlanders, and fifteen or sixteen hundred Militia. They had, according to their own statement, a few more than twelve thousand men. We only numbered eight thousand. They considered themselves so superior in number as to be able to form three lines of battle, being persuaded that if we were so brave or so fortunate as to break through the two first lines we would on reaching the third be so broken in formation that it would be impossible for us to escape being thoroughly crushed. They farther calculated that their third line, having reserved its fire, that we, on reaching it, would have exhausted ours, and so fall an easy prey to them. They therefore placed their best infantry in the third line. The Highlanders, the Militia, and two other regiments were in the second, and the first was formed almost exclusively of cavalry, with a small infantry force on the heights above us.

Our order of battle was quite different. The first line was formed of infantry, and included four thousand real Highlanders. In the second were our quasi Highlanders and Lowlanders to the number of three thousand. The three Irish pickets and the three pickets from the regiment of Lord John Drummond formed a reserve force that was placed in the centre and in the rear of our second line. Our cavalry formed two other small reserved corps of two hundred and twenty men each, that were placed on the two wings in order to prevent us from being outflanked.

The enemy's cavalry advanced against us in a smart trot, while we hastened to meet them at an accelerated pace. No shot was fired until we were within a half pistol shot distance from each other. Our fire then threw the enemy into some confusion, yet their ranks remained unbroken until the Highlanders, having thrown away their guns, rushed between the enemy's ranks, claymore in hand, when their resistance was speedily overcome. The horses in their flight being unable to make a direct descent down hill, the slope being too sudden, were obliged to run along it laterally, whereby they were exposed to the fire of our entire line, and suffered so severely that half of them remained on the field. The Militia and the Argyre Highlanders and the small infantry force that formed the enemy's second line were overturned in a moment, and driven right and left by the retreat of their first line.

But when the body of the enemy's infantry came to be attacked, that either from want of time or in order the better to resist, had not been drawn up in line, but presented the appearance of two large empty squares, one to the right and the other to the left, the Highlanders, as the enemy had torseen, found themselves for the most part without guns and absolutely broken in formation from the impetuosity of their first attack, not knowing where their officers or their colours were, and being ignorant of any other manner of attack than that in line, appeared surprised, hesitated, and even in some places drew back. Lord George Murray, who commanded the right, had the requisite energy, authority, and good fortune to rally them in time. He again led them to the charge, that was made with such reserved corps to effect it, was in the greatest confusion.

Fortune was not so favourable to us on the left; we were there so dispersed that it was not possible, humanly speaking, to rally us in time. This was all the more unfortunate that the Prince, who had rushed forward with his reserved corps to effect it, was in the greatest danger of being taken prisoner or killed. The enemy's cavalry had already rallied, and partially outflanked us, at the distance of half a gun-shot, whilst the infantry were advancing in front. Fortunately, the six French pickets advanced so as to cover our flank

and confront the enemy's cavalry. This movement stopped the enemy's advance, and restored the courage of our people, and gave them time to get ready to receive the charge of the infantry. The cavalry thereupon, seeing that order had been restored, took fright, and went away. As soon as they had gone, the infantry, seeing their right wing in retreat, and nothing doubting but that we were marching towards them, immediately took fright, before being attacked, and ran away, leaving the battlefield to us. This was a first victory, which would not in any way have profited us had we not immediately after gained a second one.

The fighting began at 3.15 p.m., and ended at 4.30, while the night was coming on. The Highlanders required time to pick up their guns, and find their way to their respective places in order to close their ranks, so that the night was on us before we were able to march in any direction. We did not know what to do. We had neither bread nor tents. It was raining; a cold wind swept around us that would have caused the army to perish had we attempted to pass the night there. To return to our quarters was to abandon the battlefield and renounce the fruit of our victory. We decided, therefore, in spite of the danger of the undertaking, to go without cannon, without guides, in the profoundest obscurity and attack the enemy in their camp, that we knew to be strongly entrenched from the nature of the locality, and provided with all the defences of art. They suspected that we might do so, but their soldiers, terror-stricken, could not be forced to face us there. They presented their bayonets to their officers, who, sword in hand, endeavoured to bring them to a stand. Nothing could allay their terror. They set fire to their camp, and marched in hot haste towards Edinburgh. They were more than an hour and a half in advance of us. Their rearguard that had remained at Falkirk opposed our entry into the town, which caused us to lose another hour, and our bad cavalry, that had been of no use to us during the battle, would not, could not, or did not dare to pursue the enemy, two-thirds of whom were mounted soldiers. We know nothing of the enemy's wounded. Our loss is a hundred and twenty, of whom thirty-two were killed.

In the attack at Falkirk, Lord John Drummond, who commanded a division there, while at the head of his Grenadiers, after having come to close quarters with some Dragoons, and after having taken one of them prisoner, had his horse shot under him, and received a shot through his right arm, which, although it made a deep wound, did not touch either the bone or the muscles. He commanded the left of the army during the battle, and did all it was possible to do.

Lord George Murray, who commanded the right, and whose advice the Prince followed in the disposition of the army, fought on foot, like a lion, at the head of the Highlanders. It is to him, after the Prince, that the greatest credit is due.

The Prince, in the beginning of the action, was with the pickets, but when the left wing threatened to give way he rushed to the spot with a courage and an impatience that showed more valour than prudence. A promise had, however, been exacted from him that he would not expose himself because of his affection for his army, which, notwithstanding a victory, would have been lost in losing him.

Mr Stepleton, Brigadier in the King's armies, who commanded the Irish pickets, was much consulted, and was very useful both before and during the action; as was also Mr Sullivan, quartermaster in the army, who, under Lord John, and in the places on the left where the latter could not be, acted as a general officer, and contributed very materially to rally the troops who were stationed there near the pickets when the Prince exposed himself so much.

The same commendation is due to Mr Braun, formerly captain in the Lally regiment, Captain in this army and aide-de-camp to the Prince. It was he who had the command of the artillery during our journey to England, and he assured the safety of our guns through precautions that he alone was able to take. It is in order to reward him for his zeal and his talents that the Prince is now sending him to be the bearer of the news of our victory to his Catholic Majesty.

We have 1 cannon of 8, 1 of 6, 3 of 4, 1 of 3, and 1 of 1, as also 3 mortars, a pair of cymbals, 2 flags, 3 standards, 28 cart-loads of ammunition, and among other things, 4000 pounds of gunpowder,

more than 500 muskets, a forge, some shells, with tents for 5000 men.

Our army now numbers about 10,000 men; there were only 8000 at the battle, the remainder having continued the siege of Stirling Castle. The latter force is commanded by the Duke of Perth. As soon as the Castle surrenders we shall march to Edinburgh. There seems some likelihood that a second battle will be fought under the walls of this latter town that will decide the fate of Scotland; we hope that it will take place within nine or ten days.

We learn that the English had five Colonels and two Lieutenant-Colonels killed; that General Hawley, the Commander-in-Chief, after having disappeared so as to cause some doubt as to whether he had been killed in the battle or whether he might not have killed himself, reappeared after two days' absence. Several of their officers have been brought up before a Court-martial, among others the commander of their artillery, who has, however, been beforehand with them, having committed suicide by opening a vein in his arm. Terror and rage have seized on these people. They have, however, inserted in the "*Edinburgh Gazette*" that they had defeated us, but that they had been obliged to withdraw from want of ammunition, whereas, in fact, we have captured enough for our entire winter campaign.

All the Argyll Highlanders and the Lowland Militia have been totally dispersed. There are not so many left in Edinburgh as to form two companies.

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SIR,—The account of the Battle of Falkirk published in to-day's *Scotsman*, although it may not have been quoted in any English history of the "Forty-Five," is known to the student of the period. It is indeed a translation of the official dispatch of the Marquis d'Eguilles to Conte d'Argenson, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles, a gentleman of Provence, and then thirty-seven years of age, was the agent of the French Government to the headquarters of Prince Charles in Scotland. He landed at Montrose in the beginning of October 1745, and joined the

Prince at Holyrood a fortnight before the Jacobite army marched for England. He was at first received with all honour, and was always termed, both by Jacobite and Government partisans, "The French Ambassador." After a while the Jacobites seem to have grown suspicious of him, as time passed and the expected French assistance did not arrive. He had, however, certain credentials from King Louis, but the principal object of his mission was to inform the French Government of the Prince's progress and his chances of success. D'Eguilles accompanied the army to Derby and throughout the whole campaign. He surrendered after Culloden, and was confined at Carlisle until April 1747, when he was released owing to the intervention of Frederick the Great. We know from other contemporary sources that he personally attended Prince Charles throughout the battle of Falkirk, and thus had ample opportunity of observing the operations. I do not remember, and as I have not access at present to my notes on the subject I cannot make certain, whether or not the original of this dispatch is among the papers preserved in the French Foreign Office. It is, however, printed in a volume published some thirteen years ago with the title "*Un Portégé de Bachaumont.*" In looking over the original French as given in this book and comparing it with the excellent translation in to-day's *Scotsman*, I find one or two slight discrepancies. The paragraphs are not all arranged in quite the same order. In the translation there is rather more detail about the wound of Lord John Drummond, and the details of the Government losses are not included in the print of the original. The only other real discrepancy is in the number of Lowland militia said to have been present. The French account says "de 150 à 160 miliciens," while the translation says "fifteen or sixteen hundred militiamen." As the original is in figures it is easy to see how the discrepancy arose. From contemporary sources we know that the militia present were the Glasgow and Paisley corps, and that their numbers a few days before the battle were—Glasgow militia 500 men, and Paisley militia 160 men. The general account of the battle accords very fairly with other contemporary descriptions. In the front line were the Highland clans, "lea

vrais montagnards;" in the second line were the "quasi Highlanders and Lowlanders," "nos demi-montagnards et nos gens du plat pays." It is interesting to find this description of the Atholl Brigade—Lord Ogilvy's Forfarshire regiments, Lord Lewis Gordon's Aberdeenshire men, and Lord John Drummond's "Ecosseis Royals." I have had in hand for some time a translation of D'Equilles' dispatches, which may possibly some day see the light.—I am, &c.,

WALTER B. BLAIRIE.

6 Belgrave Crescent,  
Edinburgh, April 17.

#### COLONEL MURRAY'S BRONZE SEAL

The following paper by the Editor was read at a meeting of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society on Tuesday, 24th April, 1900;—

Having carefully examined the impression of the bronze seal found in Polmaise wood which was exhibited at last meeting, I beg respectfully to differ from the experts mentioned by Colonel Murray, who take the inscription to refer to a Scottish laird named David Austin, and I venture to submit another reading. Writing under the disadvantage of not having seen the article itself, I confine my remarks to the impression. This shows an inner ring with a small cross saltire-wise, and below, six points arranged in a circle. Of this device I can make nothing further than that it has no relation to the arms of any person named Austin. The inscription runs round the outside of this ring, starting from a point marked with a dagger or cross, and reads as follows:—

#### SOAVITAVSTVIN

The experts referred to by Colonel Murray have apparently been misled by the second letter, which is slightly broken, and reading S for *Sigillum*, or "Seal," have made the O following a D, and so formed "Davis Austin" out of the remainder. But a glance at the full inscription will reveal that even on this assumption there is a V too many, and however much the name of

"Austin" may vary, I have not found two "u's" or "v's" in any form of the name. We must therefore, I conclude, discard the explanation of the experts, and try to find a more likely one for ourselves. As the fourth and succeeding three letters form the Latin word *vita*, "life," I thought at first the so-called seal might be a medicine stamp, to which the last three letters, V I N, gave some degree of probability. The Romans, we know, used medicine stamps, but any specimens I have seen figured in books are oblong in shape, not round. A search through the British Pharmacopœia did not yield the name of any drug suggestive of the wine of life. *Agua vita* has, it seems, no counterpart in *vinum vita*. The medicine-stamp theory had consequently to be rejected. Loth to part with the V I N suggestion, I found there remained the possibility that the seal might have been intended for stamping the lower end of wine corks, or sealing them on the top with wax. The wine of Alicante, in Spain, is known as *vino tinto* from its dark colour, and one of the early travellers in Scotland whose accounts have been published by Dr Hume Brown, states that "allegant" was one of the favourite liquors drunk in Scotland in 1618. But the inscription on Colonel Murray's seal refused to be twisted into the name of any wine of which I ever heard, and, reluctantly enough, the wine-cork idea had to share the same fate as that of the medicine stamp. Latin and Spanish having failed to supply any feasible interpretation of the seal inscription, I turned for assistance to the Italian language, and here I found the key to the puzzle. The first seven letters will be found to form the word *soavita*, meaning "suavity," and accordingly we may divide the inscription in the following way:—

SOAVITA : VST : VIN.

The second word is clearly a contraction. There are not many words in the Italian language it can stand for, and one of these is a pretty long word, viz., *usitamento*, meaning "usually." The letters V and U were, as we know, interchangeable at one time, and the fact that the one is used for the other in the seal inscription is a proof that it is not of modern manufacture. We have still the misleading V I N to deal with. This, I take

it, is also a contraction, and stands for *vince*, the third person singular, present indicative, of the verb *vincere*, to conquer, or succeed. If I am correct, the sum of the whole matter is that the supposed "David Austin" resolves itself into the Italian sentence, *Soavita unitamente vince*, which may be rendered, "Gentleness generally wins," and which shows that this is a motto seal of perhaps the sixteenth century, or earlier, before the cutting of precious stones for seals became common. I have not succeeded in getting any information relative to motto seals, either Italian or other, and of course it is open to anyone to maintain that my suggested solution of the enigma is not the right one. I shall welcome any correction founded upon fact or argument, but I think I have at least proved that this interesting object is not the personal seal of any laird of Inverallan named Austin.

#### THE SONS OF KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.

"Scottish Kings: a Revised Chronology of Scottish History," is the title of a new and very useful work of reference compiled by Sir Archibald H. Dunbar, Bart. At page 142 there appears among the illegitimate sons of Robert the First, Walter of Odistown on the Clyde, who is said to have predeceased his father. A similar statement is made by Sir Herbert Maxwell in his *Life of Robert the Bruce* (p. 355), but without the citation of any authority. Sir Archibald Dunbar, however, is careful to give the source of his information, and it is to be regretted that he did not in this instance follow his usual practice of referring to the original authority, as he would probably have discovered that he was helping to perpetuate an error. Even a king's character need not be blackened more than is necessary in the interests of truth, and it appears to me King Robert the Bruce must be absolved from the charge of having had an illegitimate son named Walter.

The authority cited by Sir Archibald Dunbar is

the late Mr George Burnett's preface to Vol. I. of the *Exchequer Rolls*, and Mr Burnett gives as his authority Robertson's *Index of Missing Charters*, page 27, No. 2. This is an entry of a charter by King Robert I. to Patrick of Moray of the lands of Odistoun, *que fuit quondam Walteris filii Regis*, and certainly it appears here as if Walter were the King's son. But if Mr Burnett had looked at page 7 and No. 73 of the same work, he would have found an entry of a charter to Patrick of Moray of the lands of Edrstoun (a misprint for Edistoun) in the Vale of Clyde, *que fuit quondam Walterii, filii Rogerii*, and as this charter is printed in full in the Register of the Great Seal, there can be no doubt about the name being Walter, son of Roger, and not son of the King. Even if there were room for dispute, the question would be settled by an entry under the year 1296 in the *Rotuli Scotia* (Vol. I. p. 35), where Walter is set down as son of Roger of Oddeston, holding his land from William de Moray of Bothwell. In the same record Walter's name is given quite distinctly as one of several which had been expunged from the rolls but were considered worth remembering as being possibly capable of throwing light on the history of certain Scottish families. As the deletion took place in 1296, that year may be taken as the time of Walter's decease, and as Robert the Bruce was then only twenty-two years of age, it is manifestly impossible he could have had a son holding the lands of Odistoun (which is just Udston, near Uddingston on the Clyde), in his own name. Walter of Odistoun was probably a son of Roger Kilpatrick, or Kirkpatrick, but it cannot be decided whether or not this Roger was the same or any relative of the Kirkpatrick who "made siccar" when Bruce stabbed the traitor Comyn in the Greyfriars' Church at Dumfries.

How the original error was made in Robertson's *Index* is easily enough explained. The entry on page 27, upon which Mr Burnett founded, is a duplicate of the entry on page 7, but the transcriber of the old Rolls of Charters had evidently misread the contraction for *Rogeri* as *Regis*, never dreaming that he was thereby adding to the number of King Robert's natural children. Mr Robertson himself, in his preface, warns the

reader that the old Index he prints is full of errors, and this is one of them which, unfortunately, has led seriously astray three of our historical writers. As Sir Archibald Dunbar's *Scottish Kings* is likely to become a standard book of reference, it may be hoped that the earliest opportunity will be taken to make the necessary correction. ED.

### OLD GRAVESTONES AT GREATHILL.

To the right of Greathill farm (coming from Stirling,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles), on Sauchieburn estate, there are four thick, flat, "slatey" stones lying on the ground well up the field, and without any marking but that of the chisel. The two nearest to the farm are 7 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. in breadth, and the two further west are 6 ft. in length. The stones lie very nearly east and west. The story handed down from generation to generation about these stones is that they mark the graves of people who died of the plague (the date of which is given in Nimmo as 1645), and that the usual pot of gold was buried in the ground. To throw a little light on these slabs, which have been a mystery so long, a member of the Stirling Archaeological Society got the assistance of Mr Adam, the tenant of the farm, and had the slabs turned to one side and the ground turned up. The first one of the two nearest the farm was examined, and no remains of any kind were found, and then one of the two further west was opened, which contained two wooden coffins about 3 ft. from the surface. They were made of thin pine wood, which was in good condition. Long strips formed the top and sides, and short strips across the bottom. There were no nails, but wooden pins had been used, which carry the date at which they were made back to about the time of the plague. The ground was very wet, and no bones or human remains of any kind were found in the two coffins. They may have been dissolved by the water.

J. E. S.

KILMADOCK OLD CHURCHYARD.

The Manse of Kilmadock,  
31st August, 1900.

SIR,—During a delightful holiday in this historically interesting parish, I have paid many visits to the charming old burial ground of Modoc, overlooking at their junction the brawling Annat and the musical Teith. Like all Celtic Churches of a certain school of missionary, this "Kil" or Cell was placed near running water, safe-guarded from evil spirits. Like the Alloway witches—

"A running burn they daurna cross."

There are none of the Celtic characteristics of building and of monument left that I could discover. The "Hermit's Croft," in the meadow below, may have been the primitive cell of the first Christian "Druada" or "Culdee"—Aodb, or Hugh, whose disciples called him Madoc, i.e., dear Hughie. For some inexplicable reason the fine Irish and Columban monumental culture either did not reach or has totally disappeared from this fringe of the Highlands. The interlaced stones in Dunblane Cathedral, which the priestly masons from Bangor may have carved, are a pleasing exception. I am inclined to think that the rudely-chiselled slab preserved in the Rob Roy enclosure in Balquhiddar Churchyard is a late effort of some unartistic post-reformation sculptor, who had an ancient model in the older stone now lying within the area of the old church there.

I have taken the pains to decipher the oldest stones in Kilmadock, and here offer my reading of one, which, being sorely detrited, has baffled many readers. It is a fine slab of freestone, lying among the superb monuments of the Dog family. It bears a mounted cross of a ceremonial type, with a straight sword and dagger on either side. The four edges of the stone bear an inscription in Gothic letters to this effect:—

. . . . (THO)MAS : HVME (DE) LVNDI : QUI :  
OBIIIT : ANNO : DNI : + MDIII + . . . .  
LII ANNI.

Including doubtful letters, it may run:—*In Memoriam* (or *Hic Jacit*) *Thomas Hume de Lundi qui obiit anno domini 1504* (or 1553, 1554, 1556, two letters being doubtful), *on* (then part illegible) *ætatis* (then a word like *eius*, which would do away with the need of *suas*) *52 anni*:—“In memory of Thomas Hume of Lundi, who died in the year of the Lord, 1504—of his age 52 years.” I imagine that the departed was an ecclesiastic.

The custodiers of this fine old churchyard are to be commended for preserving the splendid memorials of the unique Dog family, and I hope they will put a railing round these interesting relics. I have come across many references to the Dogs in Celtic history. The name apparently is a survival of a very remote age when families honoured their especial totems, such as the dog, wolf, bear, and so forth. Herodotus mentions the tribe of the Dogmen in the west. In Ireland were many branches of the Cu (Dog) tribe, as Cu Connaught, Cu Mumhain, Cu Ullain (hence Cu-chullin in Skye), and warriors like Faolchu (wolf dog), Branchu, Banchu (Banquo), and Maccu (from whose well near Kelso the Maxwells have their name). A history of the Dogs would be interesting.

In magnificent tall Latin lettering the stones tell their story thus:—

HIC SITVS EST PIVS PRVDENS JVVVENTVS  
JACOBVS NEPOS I. DOEG SENIORIS AD DVN-  
ROBIN . . . NATV MAXIMVS QUI 26 JAN AN  
AET 1519 VERO SVAE 28 PLACIDE IN DOMINO  
OBDORMIVIT.

Followed by shield, with two swords, and the letters I. D.

Another stone in the same enclosure bears this inscription:—

HEIR LYES MARGRAT CVNYGHAME  
LADY CRAIGENDES WHO DEED SPOVS TO  
PAVL DOG OF DVNROBIN 1618.

Another bears:—

HEIR LYES JAMES DOG ELDER OF BALLIN-  
GREW MAIR OF FIE AND CHALMERLAN OF

MENTEITH VHA DECEISIT THE 13 OF  
APRILL 1630 AETATIS SUAE 68.

Followed by shield with swords; on either side,  
I.D. C.D., and below, skull and "memento mori."

Another much-broken stone indicates:—

HEIR (LYES THE CORPS OF) W. DOG . . .  
ONAR OF MURDOSTONE VHA DIET THE 2  
DECEMBER) THE (YEAR) OF GOD 1631 AND  
OF HIS AGE THE 66.

Other fine stones, such as those of "Robertus  
Seaton de Spitalton," Harie Dow, and Stewarts of  
Annat, also deserve preservation.—I am, &c.,

J. KING HEWISON, F.S.A. (Scot.).

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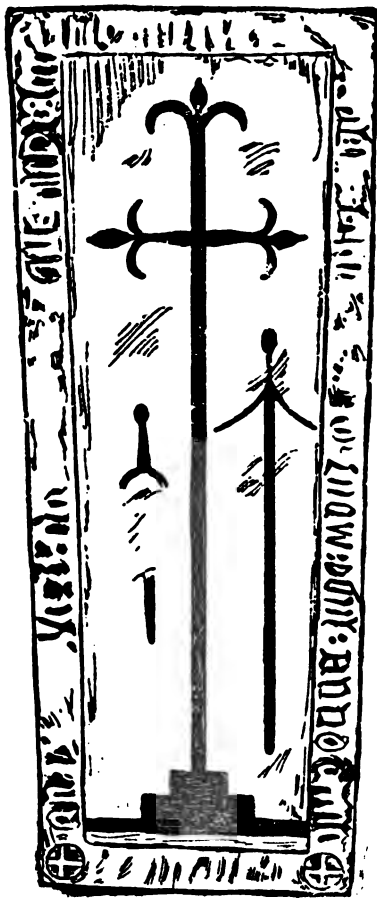
## TOMBSTONES IN KILMADOCK OLD CHURCHYARD.

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### THE REV. MR HEWISON'S DISCOVERY.

The first thing suggested by the parish minister of Rothesay's letter which appeared in last week's *Sentinel*, is an expression of gratification that the tombstones in Kilmadock Old Churchyard have attracted the notice of a skilled antiquary like Mr Hewison, whose knowledge and experience of ancient monuments in Bute and elsewhere give weight and authority to his opinion. The stone which he connects with a certain Hume of Lundie has always been locally regarded as a memorial of one of the once numerous and powerful family in Menteith—the Dogs—but no one has been able to make anything out of the time-worn inscription. We are indebted to Mr W. Gray, Doune, who takes a great interest in antiquarian matters, for one of the rubbings of the stone taken by Mr Hewison with Mr Gray's assistance, and we give a sketch of it below. The inscription, however, is not an

exact copy of what appears in the rubbing, but is merely indicated to show the style of the lettering and the manner in which it runs.



We admire the ingenuity Mr Hewison has shown in reading and interpreting the remains of the almost effaced legend, though we are somewhat doubtful whether he has been completely successful in mastering its secret. His reading is certainly a great improvement on that of Mr P. MacGregor Chalmers, architect, Glasgow, who, because he thought he found on this stone the designation "— son of —" argued that the person to whom the inscription referred belonged to a family of no standing. It is fair to say that Mr Chalmers, who wrote an interesting letter on the subject exactly ten years ago, made out the words "who died Anno Domini MCCC," and in truth this part of the inscription—QVI : OBIT : ANNO—is all that one can be sure of. From the symbols inscribed on the stone, Mr Hewison is probably right in the surmise that the departed was an ecclesiastic; and if the Dog theory could have been maintained, we should have suggested that the stone commemorated Sir Thomas Dog, Prior of Inchmahome about the middle of the fifteenth century. But Mr Hewison finds that the name is Thomas Hume of Lundie, and we have made some inquiry into the history of the Humes, and also of the Lundies, of which there seem to have been at least two. In 1497, King James IV. granted to Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, for his services in the war, the lands of Argateis and Lundeis in the lordship of Menteith, extending to £16 13s 4d old extent. These lands formed part of the forfeited estate of Murdoch, Duke of Albany. George Hume, eldest son of Sir Patrick, succeeded as first Baron of Argaty, and he seems to have had two sons. The elder son, David, was the Laird of Argaty who was executed at Edinburgh in 1584 for alleged complicity with the disaffected Lords, and his estate was forfeited, Argaty, however, being restored to his younger brother Patrick, whose son Henry and his heirs carried on the line. There is no trace of a Thomas Hume of Lundie, nor does Lundie appear as a separate estate from Argaty until after the forfeiture of David Hume. It is a curious fact, however, and one which may have some connection with the Kilmadock stone, that part of the Lundies—a six-merk land—became known as Denis-Lundies, the reddendo of which was payable to the King *loco decani et*


*capituli Dunblanensis*—at the place of the Dean and Chapter of Dunblane—so that there must have been a Dean of Dunblane associated with Lundie, and he may have been Thomas Hume. Deanslundies came into the possession of Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath about 1606, and in 1608 he sold it to his kinsman, James Edmonstone of Newton, who in 1614 disposed this property, along with Newton, to his eldest son John and Agnes Cowane, his spouse. Deanslundies now belongs to the Earl of Moray. On the supposition that Mr Hewison is correct in reading the name of Hume on the Kilmaddock stone, we may suggest that after *Hic Jacet* may come the word *Dominus*, or its contraction, *Dom.*, as a Dean of Dunblane before the Reformation would have the title of "Sir," and his designation may be *in*, not *de*, Lundie. The date is more likely to be 1554 than 1504.

#### THE DOG STONES.

Mr Hewison has the credit of correcting the supposed date on one of the Dog stones to a century earlier, and it is strange the mistake should have occurred, because the Laird of Dunrobin in 1619 was not James, but Paul Dog, as another of the stones might have indicated. James Dog, grandfather of the young man who died in 1519, was a servant of James IV., and first acquired Auchencubbin, in the Stewartry of Menteith, from his brother, Sir Alexander Dog, Prior of Inchmahome, in 1491. Dunrobin was acquired in 1500, and after the King's marriage James Dog was transferred to the Queen's service, being appointed keeper of her Majesty's wardrobe. Dunbar has a poem on James Dog, the King's servant. Walter Dog, who died in 1631, was portioner of Murdochstone, and the blank in Mr Hewison's rendering of the inscription should be filled by the letters "PORTI" before "ONAR." On the left side of the shield on the stone are the letters W and E, the second initials of the names of husband and wife on the other side of the shield being worn off. They are D and B, the letters representing Walter Dog and Elisa-

beth Buchanan, his spouse. Mr Hewison rightly remarks that a history of the Dogs would be interesting, and we may mention that some materials for such a history are in existence. The late Mr Alexander Deuchar, an eminent Edinburgh seal engraver and genealogist, who died about 1840, was descended in the female line from Walter Dog of Murdochstone, and he collected all the information he could about the Dogs of Menteith and also the Dogs of Brechin and Forfar. Mr Deuchar's daughter, we think, is still alive. She contributed several interesting articles to the Heraldic Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1891. Mr Deuchar's Dog papers are in our possession, and we have also a good deal of additional information derived from a large number of authentic documents. We hope to publish the results of our labours at some future time.

#### THE SETON STONE.

Mr Hewison refers to a stone to the memory of Robert Seton of Spittalton. A very fine engraving of the inscription on this stone is given in a sumptuous work, "A History of the Family of Seton" (1896), but the author, Mr George Seton, Advocate, remarks: "I have hitherto been unable to identify the Alexander Seton commemorated on the monumental slab in the old churchyard of Kilmadock. He may possibly have been a younger son of either the Touch or Gargunnoch lines." Mr Seton has omitted to notice that the name on the stone is not Alexander but Robert. The inscription round the edge of the stone is as follows:— ROBERTVS · SETONIVS · OBIT · 8 MAII · ANNO · 1630 · ETATIS · VERO · SVÆ · 18. And in the centre, below the Seton arms:—DVM VIXI CIBO VIXI MORIEBAR IN ILLO ILLI DVLCHE FUIT VIVERE DVLCHE MORI EST. Below the above is a skull with the usual reminder: MEMENTO MORI. There can be little doubt that the Robert Seton here commemorated was one of the Setons of Spittalton, who were connected with the Setons of Touch and Gargunnoch.

Ed.

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**SCOTTISH MARKET CROSSES.\***

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This sumptuous volume—a work, it may truly be said, of national interest—has not been produced without a considerable amount of thought and preparation on the part of the author and publisher, and it is something to be proud of that Stirling can legitimately claim credit for its production. Our former townsman, Mr Small, whose reputation as artist and designer stands deservedly high, has for many years turned his attention to Scottish market crosses. His first paper on the subject was read before the Stirling Archæological Society in 1890, and its importance was so evident to ourselves, that when printing it in the columns of the *Sentinel*, we gave as a supplement a lithograph showing Mr Small's drawings of some of the crosses he had brought under notice. At that time there were only 37 market crosses on Mr Small's list, but six years later, in a second paper also read to the local Society, he was able to extend the number to 97; and by dint of long journeys, many of them on his bicycle, he has now been able to bring the total up to 110. These, it may be observed, are market crosses still in existence, and antiquaries are specially indebted to Mr Small for his discovery of a number of these interesting monuments which were previously unrecorded. The work begun by the late Mr James Drummond, R.S.A., has been taken up with enthusiasm by Mr Small, whose drawings form imperishable records of ancient relics associated with the history of our country. It is probable that notwithstanding the great trouble Mr Small has taken to make his list of existing market crosses as complete as possible, there may be some which have escaped his notice, for it would be strange if all the others had perished. Judging from the examples given in this volume, market crosses were not confined to royal burghs or to important centres of trade. Not only burghs of barony and burghs of regality, but the smallest of villages in the most out-of-the-way districts had their market crosses. In two cases—Upper

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\* **SCOTTISH MARKET CROSSES.** By John W. Small, F.S.A. Scot., Architect, Stirling. With an Introductory Chapter by Alexander Hutchesson, F.S.A. Scot. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 43 Murray Place.

Airth and Rossie—the villages have entirely disappeared while their market crosses remain, and it is surely not improbable that in some old villages still to be found on the map, there may be at least fragments of crosses to reward the diligent inquirer. Mr Small's work shows what earnest investigation can do, and we trust that one result of his labours will be to direct the attention of antiquaries throughout Scotland to the importance of searching for neglected and forgotten memorials of national industry in former times.

The deft pencil of the author is seen to advantage in most of the plates which form the bulk of the large volume before us. In the case of a market cross with decorative details, Mr Small gives a second plate showing these in a satisfactory way. We could have wished, however, that in his heraldic shields, Mr Small's drawings had been more distinct. If, for example, one of the shields on the Inverkeithing cross shows the royal arms impaled with those of Annabella Drummond, wife of Robert III., it is certainly not the three bars wavy of the Drummonds that are shown on the impaled coat of arms in Mr Small's drawing, but three animals in pale, which may be leopards, or wolves, or foxes. Mr Small is so skilled in heraldic art that we are the more sorry he gives us so little of it here. While the more important crosses are in general carefully drawn, the same cannot be said of some of the others, which are sketchy to a degree, in one or two cases only a few lines being considered sufficient. Another defect, in our opinion, is the absence of the surroundings of many of the crosses, which are shown standing bare and solitary as if they were erected on some barren heath, instead of in the heart of a town. How much better and more natural they would appear if the artist had taken note of their situation, is proved by the plate of Melrose cross, in which the street and houses are shown without interfering with the effect of the cross itself, while the picture is made more interesting by reason of these accessories. Of course, Mr Small's object was to fix attention on the cross alone, but it is curious that in some cases he has considered the necessary relief obtainable by showing the cross in its actual

position, while in others this has been deemed impossible. The descriptive notes of the various crosses are so excellent as to cause regret that they are so brief. It would have been of interest to know how the initials "E. H." and "K. G." came to be inscribed on the Rossie cross, and what names they represent. There is also a great lack of information about the other crosses, into whose history it is to be hoped persons acquainted with the localities will be induced to make inquiry. Mr Small could not be expected to undertake this work; it is enough that he has indicated the situation of each cross, and described its style and character. Sometimes, however, he gives us more. One tradition with regard to the cross at Upper Airth (the discovery of which is due to Mr Small), we are thankful for as a bit of county lore. This cross is known as the "Headless Cross," doubtless because the upper part of the capital is broken away. "From an old man we met near it," says our author, "we asked its history." 'Oh,' said he, 'you'll laugh at me, but the story which I have heard since a child is that in the fighting times a soldier had his head cut off by a blow of his opponent's sword, and that grippin' his ain head by the hair, he ran off with it in his hand, and on the spot where he fell this cross was erected, and that's the way it's called the 'Headless Cross.'" After this, *la belle France*, with its legend of St Denis, may take a back seat. On the lower part of the capital of this headless cross has been carved a shield with arms, but Mr Small says they are now undecipherable; something of what looks like a cross crosslet, a crescent, and a lion rampant may be made out. These are not the arms of any family known to have been connected with the district, and it is possible the cross may have been brought from somewhere else, which may account for the traditional story of its erection.

The Introduction to Mr Small's work, from the pen of Mr Alexander Hutcheson, F.S.A. (Scot.) is a learned and valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. Mr Small, in his two papers already mentioned, referred to the probable origin of market crosses and to the various usages in connection with them, and Mr Hutcheson treats of these matters with greater fulness, imparting

much additional information, carefully collected from a variety of sources. We are pleased to find a complimentary reference to an able paper on Scottish Guilds, written by the late Mr James Todd, teacher, Stirling, for our Archæological Society, of which he was the esteemed President. The Transactions of the local Society have proved useful to Mr Hutcheson, who has evidently spared no pains to obtain all the light possible upon the somewhat obscure subject of market crosses. He agrees with the late Mr James Drummond and Mr Small that the market cross as an institution had its beginning in the cross ecclesiastical. "Down to the period of the Reformation, the cross ecclesiastical in some of its forms continued to be erected. Since then its erection in Scotland has been purely sepulchral; but chronological by parallel with the cross ecclesiastic, for at least 400 years before the Reformation, existed the cross civic or municipal, the market cross, called forth by usages the necessity for which previously served mainly by the cross ecclesiastic, had come to be differentiated from it, since the usages themselves had become purely civic." The cross, erroneously supposed to be peculiar to Christianity, became the symbol of honesty and fair dealing in commercial bargains between merchant and merchant. The merchant marks were originally variants of the cross or of the sacred monogram—this is the true origin of the mysterious mark of the Stirling Guildry—and when merchants learned to write, they not only headed their invoices or accounts with some form of the cross, but began them with the holy name of Jesus. The first "mercat croce" of Stirling was probably the crucifix on the ancient bridge which is shown on the older of the Burgh seals, for it is on record that accounts between the inhabitants of the north and south were settled at Stirling Bridge, and herein, perhaps, we have the real meaning of the inscription on the seal which has been such a puzzle to antiquarians. The Brets and Scots met at Stirling Bridge armed for defence if necessary, but ready to barter under the *ægis* of the cross. The market cross in the High Street of the burgh may have been contemporaneous with the cross on the bridge, for some towns, as Mr Hutcheson remarks, had more than

one cross. Wherever there was trafficking in the produce of the country there was probably a cross. In our own district there were crosses, which have long since disappeared, at Dunblane, Kippen, and Denny, and no doubt in numerous other villages. Mr Hutcheson is right in stating that where there are places called "The Cross," the name is at least as likely to be due to the existence of an old market cross as to the crossing of the roads, and it is to be hoped that investigations will be made in all such places, though the result may sometimes be a disappointment similar to that experienced by Mr Small, who rode a long distance to see a reported cross, only to find that it was nothing more than a direction-post where two roads met and crossed. The bare stone of an ecclesiastical cross near Dundee has a socket in which the shaft was inserted, and this circumstance suggests to Mr Hutcheson a comparison with the Borestone on the field of Bannockburn. Regarding both stones there is a tradition that they were the base for a royal standard, and Mr Hutcheson says this is absurd, because there is no evidence that standards were ever so placed, and that it would be a massive stone that would preserve in an upright position a pine-tree bending beneath the standard's weight, as described by Sir Walter Scott in "Marmion." We know nothing about the Dundee stone, but we see no reason why the Borestone could not have supported a royal standard. It has been greatly reduced in size by the chipping propensities of tourists before it was protected by an iron grating, but we think that even yet it could hold a young pine-tree and a banner, especially if it were sunk in the earth, as it probably was. Mr Hutcheson, adopting the view of Mr Robert White in his book on "The Battle of Bannockburn," says the Borestone was no doubt the base of a cross placed either to commemorate the victory or to serve some earlier purpose, and the public road which now leads past it no doubt at first led to it. This view does not conflict with our own opinion that the Borestone does not derive its name from being bored, but from the old Scottish word "bower," meaning boundary, in which form it is found in the Bower Stone, near Tulliallan, and other places in Scotland. The late Mr Cosmo Innes, Mr

Hutcheson remarks in a footnote, seems to say that crosses were set up to distinguish the boundaries of estates and jurisdictions, but it is more likely that the boundaries of estates were arranged to run to the existing crosses and great stones, as being already well-known landmarks or objects of popular reverence, no insignificant attribute of a boundary stone.

The "mercat croce" of Stirling is specially noticed by Mr Hutcheson in connection with the banqueting displays on occasions of public rejoicing. A curious custom at these festivities was the throwing up of the wine-glasses used for drinking, and when this was done in 1708 at the "solemnity" upon account of the Confederates' victory over the French at Oudenard, the Council approved of £5 5s (Scots) being paid by the Treasurer for the broken crystal. Whereupon Mr Hutcheson comments:—"Surely a rather hilarious 'solemnity!' If this was a fair indication of how the Bailies of Stirling behaved when they wanted to be solemn, one may wonder what their rejoicings were like. It is no wonder that public solemnities were popular in Stirling." The reckless destruction of wine-glasses, we may mention, was continued at the celebration of the King's birthday down to the time of William IV., and we remember the late Dean of Guild Mouat saying that he had seen after the last toast the glasses tossed up in the air, and a scramble by the crowd to catch them as they came down. The association of the Market Cross with royal proclamations, punishments, &c., is duly noted by Mr Hutcheson. It was at Stirling Market Cross that the memorable proclamation was made on 20th February, 1688, which brought into existence the National Covenant. One use of the Market Cross we think Mr Hutcheson does not mention. As a well-known landmark it was very convenient for indicating in legal deeds the locality of houses, and in dispositions and conveyances in Stirling, and no doubt elsewhere, a house in the High Street was said to be above the cross, below the cross, or opposite the cross, as the case might be. It is gratifying to be able to state that in Stirling, at least, the Market Cross as an institution has not fallen into desuetude. Upon its restoration in 1890, the Magistrates duly advertised the new

cross as the Market Cross of Stirling, and it has since been regularly used for all royal proclamations, and military and other announcements. Mr Small maintains the opinion that the steps of the old cross must have been octagonal to harmonise with the shaft, and if, as is recorded, the cross occupied a large space in the street, and was a great incumbrance, or obstruction, the number of steps must have been six, and not three as at present. We think Mr Small is probably right, and certainly the cross would look much better if it were raised a little higher.

There is much else that is suggestive in Mr Hutcheson's admirable Introduction, but to discuss all the points raised would lead us too far afield. He has rendered excellent service by his disquisition on this interesting branch of Scottish antiquities. The publisher has also performed his part well, the issue of this splendid volume conferring upon him a distinction which will be generally recognised. We are indebted to Mr Mackay for the plate illustrating Mr Small's artistic workmanship.

Ed.

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### THE CHIEFSHIP OF THE CLAN MURRAY.\*

WITH NOTICES OF THE MORAYS OF BOTHWELL,  
MURRAYS OF TOUCHADAM AND POLMAISE,  
MORAYS OF ABERCAIRNEY, AND MURRAYS  
OF TULLIBARDINE (DUKES OF ATHOLL).

On the second day after the funeral of the late Earl of Mansfield in August, 1898, a letter, signed "Moravia," appeared in the *Scotsman*, contradicting a statement made in that newspaper that the Earl's funeral was attended by his Grace the Duke of Atholl, "as Chief of the Clan Murray," and adding that the writer was sure his Grace would be the first to acknowledge that the Chief of the Clan Murray was another gentleman, who was also present at the funeral—namely, Colonel Murray of Polmaise. I am not aware who the writer of this letter was, nor is his personality of any consequence. The subject interested me

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\*This article, by the Editor, appeared in the *Scottish Antiquary* for October, 1900.

because it lay in the line of certain studies of my own, and, although aware of the difficulty of dealing with competing claims to the chiefship of Scottish clans, I have made an effort to arrive at the truth of this matter, with the results here set forth. The male representation of the historic house of Bothwell, a subject which involves the question of the Chiefship of the Clan Murray, has engaged the attention of men no less eminent than the late Mr John Riddell, the ablest genealogical antiquary of his time, and Mr Joseph Bain, F.S.A. Scot., one of our foremost living genealogists. Mr Riddell's views and arguments, stated with his customary force and fire, will be found in a volume entitled *Stewartiana*, published in 1843, while Mr Bain has expressed his opinions, in the light of further information resulting from his own researches, in his Preface to Vol. II. of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, and in two excellent papers contributed to the Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries.<sup>1</sup> Anyone who follows men like those I have mentioned, need not expect to glean much in a field they have made their own; still I fancy I have not been altogether unsuccessful in further elucidating an exceedingly obscure subject. I am afraid I shall have to try the reader's patience not a little by a necessarily tortuous course of argument in order to make clear the points upon which the decision of the question under consideration depends. The authorities quoted from are not always cited—a circumstance which I regret<sup>2</sup>—but it may be premised that I have consulted every source of information known to me, and, by the kindness of Colonel Murray, I have had the privilege of perusing an inventory of the Polmaise writs.

The latest and fullest pedigree of the Murrays of Polmaise is to be found in a work published in 1892, and entitled *Nisbet's Heraldic Plates*, with

<sup>1</sup> Vols. XII. and XIX., new series. A later paper by Mr Bain, based on a number of deeds in the *Laing Charters*, will be found in *The Genealogist* for January, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> It may be explained that this paper was originally written for a local Archaeological Society, and the authorities were all given at the end, according to custom. The narration of much that is familiar to readers of the *Scottish Antiquary* is due to the same cause, but it could not be eliminated without the sacrifice of clearness.

Genealogies by Messrs Ross, Marchmont Herald, and Grant, Carrick Pursuivant. I shall have something to say by-and-bye about this pedigree, but at present I merely wish to mention that it begins with a certain Sir William Moravia, who is said to have been taken prisoner by the English in 1306, and released after the battle of Bannockburn. I go back a full century and a-half to Freskin of Moray, a Fleming who came to Scotland in the reign of David I., and settled in the north. This Freskin possessed the extensive lands of Duffus and Petty in Morayshire, and Strathbrock in Linlithgowshire. He left three sons—William, Hugh, and Andrew. Hugh was ancestor of the Earls of Sutherland, and it is still undetermined whether he or his brother William was the eldest of the sons of Freskin. Mr Riddell was of opinion that William must have been the senior, because he heired his father in the estates above-mentioned, and if the large domain of Sutherland was not also transmitted by Freskin to his posterity, there would be no doubt that such was the case. But there is some evidence to the contrary. The arms of descendants of both William and Hugh, sons of Freskin, are to be seen on seals appended to an important instrument, dated 1357, and there, while the shield of the Sutherland ancestor shows the three mullets of Moray plain, in the Bothwell shield they are surrounded by a bordure charged with eight roundels or bezants. The occurrence of the bordure indicates the juniority of the branch descended from William, and the bezants the performance by one of its members, the head of the house for the time, of a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, a bezant being a gold coin of Byzantium in circulation among the Crusaders. On the other hand, Burke, in his *Peerage*, gives the arms of the ancient Earls of Sutherland as three mullets within a bordure, so that heraldry, after all, leaves the question of seniority undecided. As Mr Bain remarks, however, this question of seniority does not affect the position of the male representative of William, because the Sutherland family has long failed in the male line. Of the youngest of the three brothers, Andrew, nothing seems to be known; but, as we shall see, his name became a favourite one in the family.

William, who was the first to take the name *de Moravia*, had also three sons, William, Hugh, and Andrew. Hugh inherited Duffus and Strathbrock, and founded a family. Andrew was a churchman. He was parson of Duffus, and is said to have refused the Bishopric of Ross. William, who carried on the main line, had the exceptional honour of being father to a real live saint. This was Gilbert Moray, Bishop of Caithness from 1223 to 1245. Of course, St Gilbert was not behind other saints in performing miracles. He not only restored speech to a dumb man by prayer and the sign of the cross, but on one occasion, when a certain lessee of salmon-fishings had had such a bad season that he was unable to pay his rent, and came praying for the good bishop's intervention on his behalf, he washed his hands in the river, which attracted so many salmon that the poor fisherman was soon relieved of all anxiety. He built the cathedral of Dornoch, from which circumstance he is known as St Gilbert of Dornoch. He is said to have been the last Scotsman canonised by the Roman Catholic Church, and his relics continued to be held in veneration till the eve of the Reformation. The eldest brother of St Gilbert was called Walter, the other brothers being John and Richard. Walter of Moray had a son and heir of the same name who, by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Olifard of Bothwell, added that barony to the family possessions. This Walter had two sons, William and Andrew. Both of them were Knights, then the highest dignity except that of an Earl, and Sir William Moray, Lord of Bothwell, was so wealthy that in one place he is called, for the sake of distinction, "*le Riche*." He was one of twelve Morays, six of them Knights, who did homage to Edward I. in 1292. He held an office which has caused some speculation among antiquaries. In the Latin tongue this office was called *Panetarius Scocie*, and there are various interpretations of the term. The late Sir W. Fraser, in his courtly style, gives the meaning as "Chief Butler;" Mr Riddell prefers "Master of the Household;" the editor of the "Papal Petitions" translates by the archaic word, "Pantler;" while a homely old chronicler calls it "Pantrieman." Whatever the office was, it

was undoubtedly regarded as a highly honourable one, and like that of armour-bearer in the family of Seton, it became hereditary in the Moray family. As *Panetarius Soccia*, William, Lord Bothwell, granted charters of church patronage and annual rents to the Cathedral of Glasgow in 1292 and 1293. He is mentioned as holder of the office as early as 1284.<sup>1</sup> Probably the extent of his holding in Scotland, and the powerful influence he could exercise under the feudal system, marked Sir William Moray out for specially severe treatment by the English monarch, who took occasion to deprive him of his Scottish estates, and when he retired to his manor in Lincolnshire, subjected him to further distraint, so much so that the once wealthy Baron of Bothwell had to get an allowance for his bare sustenance out of the Crown revenues accounted for by the Sheriff of Lincoln. This cruel usage no doubt intensified the family feeling against the oppressor, and Edward and his successors had good cause to fear the wrath of the Morays. Sir William's brother, Sir Andrew Moray, took an active part in the resistance made by the Scots to the English rule, and having been taken prisoner, along with his son, Andrew, at the surrender of the Castle of Dunbar,<sup>2</sup> in April, 1296, he was committed to the Tower of London, and his son to Chester Castle, so that three members of the family were now in Edward's power.

Whether the victorious monarch thought that so long as he kept the two elder Morays in England he was secure against another rising in Scotland, or whether he had a deep purpose to serve with the younger Moray, it is impossible to say, but for some reason or other, Andrew was permitted to return to Scotland after a few months' detention. Edward never committed a greater mistake, and this he realised when it was too late. Inheriting all the courage and spirit of his ancestors, Andrew Moray soon showed that he intended to resist the powerful family foe to the death.

<sup>1</sup> *Bymer's Feudera*, cited by Nisbet in his *Heraldry* (1722), p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> The Cottonian MS. says Sir William de Murreff and his son were among the prisoners taken at Dunbar, and it appears from the *Rotuli Scotia* that a Knight of that name was imprisoned in the Castle of Rockingham, but it could not be the Lord of Bothwell, who was not at Dunbar, being detained in England, and, moreover, he had no son.

Joining William Wallace of Elderslie, soon to prove himself the champion and guardian of his country, he carried on a vigorous campaign in the north against the English enemy and their Scottish adherents. It appears from the official records of England that on 28th August, 1297, a safe-conduct was issued by Edward to enable Andrew to visit his father in the Tower, but surely in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird. The eaglet of Moray was not to be trapped. Staunch to the national cause betrayed by so many of the Scottish barons, he bravely followed the banner of Wallace, and at the battle of Stirling Bridge, he was the heroic patriot's chief supporter. Our historians have got sadly confused in regard to the personality of the Andrew Moray who fought so gallantly at Stirling Bridge. The common account is that it was Sir Andrew Moray who was the compatriot of Wallace, and that, being slain in the battle, his son, Andrew, afterwards Regent of Scotland, was assumed by Wallace as joint-governor of the kingdom. Mr Joseph Bain has satisfactorily proved that it was the son of Sir Andrew Moray who behaved so nobly at Stirling, and that the Regent, who was the son of this younger Andrew, was not born till the following year, being a posthumous child. Sir Herbert Maxwell, who, in his *Life of Robert Bruce*, slanders Wallace and belittles his followers, is careful to point out that it was Andrew the Esquire, not Sir Andrew the Knight, who backed the popular leader so effectively at Stirling. Sheriff Rampini, on the other hand, maintains, in his *History of Moray and Nairn*, that it was Sir Andrew the Knight who distinguished himself upon that memorable occasion. Both may be right. It was certainly Sir Andrew's son who was in the battle, but it is not improbable he was also a Knight. There is also some obscurity in regard to Andrew Moray's death. The historians who say he was killed in the fight have to face the awkward fact that, immediately after the battle, proclamations were issued in the joint names of Andrew Moray and William Wallace as leaders of the Scottish army. They get out of the difficulty by giving Andrew a son, who, as I have said, was still in his mother's womb, and I am surprised to find Professor Murison, in his recent *Life of Sir William Wallace*,

slide out of the dilemma by stating that it was probably another Sir Andrew Moray altogether who was slain. Mr Andrew Lang, in his new *History of Scotland*, with characteristic *insouciance*, kills Sir Andrew Moray at the battle of Falkirk in 1298, for which there is not the slightest authority. The suggestion that Moray was killed outright at Stirling Bridge has been supposed to receive confirmation from the record of an inquisition at Berwick in November, 1300, in which the jury record as heir to Sir William Moray of Bothwell, who had died in England, Andrew de Moray, an infant who is described as the son of Andrew de Moray, "*interfectus apud Strivelyn contra dominum regem*"—that is, slain at Stirling fighting against the King. But the apparent confusion is cleared up if we accept the statement of the most credible of our Scottish chroniclers, namely, Fordun, who wrote in the following century, and who distinctly states that Andrew Moray was mortally wounded. There are three manuscripts of Fordun's history which are regarded as authoritative, and in none of these is it stated that Moray died on the battle-field. One has *vulneratur occubuit*, another *cecidiit vulneratur*, and the third, *gladio occubuit*, so that the probable explanation is, that although mortally wounded, Moray survived for about three months, and then succumbed to his wounds. Fordun calls him *pater Andreæ nobilis*, and Abercromby no doubt bases upon this expression the statement, in his *Martial Achievements*, that Andrew Moray was the founder of a family called Noble. It is, however, worthy of note that, in the charter-chest of the Duke of Montrose, there are two deeds referring to a family of that name, but at an earlier period.

We are now free to resume our pedigree of the Morays. We have seen that Sir William, Lord of Bothwell, died before November, 1300, leaving no issue, and that his grand-nephew, the two-year-old Andrew, became his heir. Only sixteen years of age at the date of the battle of Bannockburn, Andrew, *tertius*, was of course too young to take any share in assisting Robert the Bruce in crushing the son of Edward the Oppressor, *Malleus Scotorum*, the hammer of the Scots, as he is called

on his tombstone.<sup>1</sup> He was, in fact, at the time detained in England as hostage, and was afterwards one of three persons who were exchanged for an English prisoner, Sir John de Segrave.<sup>2</sup> But it was not long before King Robert had the advantage of Andrew Moray's services, and so highly were these esteemed that after an important convention in Cambuskenneth Abbey, in 1326, he received in marriage the hand of Christian Bruce, the King's sister, widow of Sir Christopher Seton, one of King Robert's old comrades-in-arms. It is almost certain that at this time Sir Andrew Moray was himself a widower, with a family, because Lady Christian, as Mr. Bain remarks, was old enough to be his mother, and moreover was past child-bearing. Of course, this little circumstance does not prevent the peerage-writers from giving her two sons by Sir Andrew. She survived her third husband, however, dying in 1357 at an advanced age.

The career of the Regent Moray may be briefly sketched.

After the death of King Robert, which left the kingdom at the mercy of the contending nobles, Sir Andrew Moray faithfully guarded the interests of the infant King David, and after the battle of Dupplin, where the treachery of a namesake of his own, Sir Andrew Moray of Tullibardine, led to the defeat of the Scots army, he was chosen Regent. Our historians are not agreed as to the period of Sir Andrew's regency. Bruce's nephew, the Earl of Moray, who was appointed Regent on the King's death, survived until July, 1332, when the Earl of Mar was elected his successor (2d August), and the latter being slain at Dupplin ten days afterwards, Sir Andrew Moray was chosen to succeed him. In 1333 the Regent, while attacking Roxburgh Castle, fell into the hands of the English, and was detained a prisoner in England for two years, when Edward III. repeated the blunder of his grandfather, and released his most dangerous foe. When the fortunes of Scotland seemed at their lowest, when none but

<sup>1</sup> If a tombstone had been erected in memory of Sir William Wallace he might have been justly described as the terror of the English, *terror Anglorum*, as the author of the *Liber Pincardensis* has it.

<sup>2</sup> Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 68.

children in their games dared to call David Bruce their King, Sir Andrew came gallantly to the rescue, and having defeated the treacherous Athole at Kilblain, he relieved his own Castle of Kildumny, which his brave wife, Christian Bruce, had held against the enemy, and was again chosen Regent of the kingdom at a Parliament held at Dunfermline in December, 1335. Edward returned to Scotland with a large army, but the Scottish knight judiciously kept out of his way, his retreat in close column, without losing a single man, being a masterpiece of generalship; and when the English King was compelled to leave a country where every hillock seemed to shelter a foe, Sir Andrew came forth from his fastnesses, and made himself master of many of the fortresses garrisoned by the enemy, including his own Castle of Bothwell. He also invaded England to get provisions for his army, and on his return laid siege to Stirling Castle, which, however, he did not succeed in taking, Edward hastening back to the assistance of the Governor. In the struggle which ensued, the Regent more than held his own, and had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy retire, beaten by the resources of an heroic woman, Black Agnes of Dunbar. He did not live long after this event, dying in 1338 amid universal lamentation. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* says there were two accounts of his death, one that it resulted from dysentery, and the other that falling off his horse (an unbroken beast) his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged along the ground sustaining fatal injuries. It is said in his honour that he never swore fealty to the English King, and by his intrepidity and public spirit he did his country splendid service. Wynton says of him—

Schir Andrew Murel guld and wight,  
That was a stout and bald Knight,  
That nane better was in his day,  
Frae guld King Robert was away.

He was buried in the chapel of Rosemartin, but his body was afterwards raised and carried to Dunfermline Abbey, where, says Tytler, it now mingles with the heroic dust of Bruce and Randolph. The anniversary of his death was observed with due ceremony at the altar of the Holy Cross in the Church of the Holy Trinity of

Elgin, where a chaplainship was founded in 1351 by Chancellor John of Inverness, for the good of his own soul, the souls of his father and mother, the soul of Lord Andrew de Moravia of good memory, and the souls of all the faithful dead. The Chancellor also gave to John of Moravia, Sir Andrew's eldest son and heir, the sum of 100 merks, so as to furnish an endowment of eight merks annually. The Chancellor's deed, providing for the distribution of the money, contains the following clauses:—

*Item*,—I ordain and assign ten shillings of annual rent to be distributed yearly, on the day of the anniversary of Lord Andrew de Moravia, among the chaplains and vicars who, with distinction, are personally engaged in performing the duties of his funeral rites—the absent and unpunctual are totally excluded.

*Item*,—I ordain two shillings to be paid yearly for ever for the lighting of the Holy Cross, and two shillings sterling for the lighting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, so that the church and the holders of said lights may be able yearly, on the day of the anniversary of the foresaid Lord Andrew, when they are performing the offices of the dead for him, to serve four wax lights burning round his tomb. May the grace of God Omnipotent now visit and protect the conservers of this my present ordination, but let Divine justice strike the violators. Amen! <sup>1</sup>

Sir Andrew Moray left at least two sons by his first wife. The elder son, John, does not seem to have possessed his father's military talents; at least, the chronicles of the times do not take notice of him in this connection. His chief distinction was making a great marriage with the heiress to the Earldom of Menteith, a girl of fourteen years of age. Sir W. Fraser, in his *Red Book of Menteith*, adduces as proof that it was the Lord of Bothwell the heiress married, a charter granted by the widow of Sir William Rose of Kilravock, which mentions as her overlord John of Moray, Lord of Bothwell and of Avoch, who, in a duplicate of this charter, is styled "Earl of Menteith and Panetarius of Scotland." But Sir William might have found the proof he wan-

<sup>1</sup> *Invernessiana*, p. 54.

ted in the petition of Queen Joanna to the Pope for a dispensation for this marriage. In this document, John of Moray is called "Pantler of Scotland." The dispensation itself sets forth that through descent from the same family, he was related in the fourth degree to his bride, Margaret Graham, but how this affinity arose is not known. The marriage took place in 1348, and three years later John of Moray was in the hands of the English King as a hostage for King David, who had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Durham. He died in exile, leaving no children, and his brother and heir, Sir Thomas, took his place as hostage, as was the custom of the time. The *Rotuli Scotie* contain, under date 5th September, 1351, a safe conduct to Berwick or Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for Thomas de Murreff, brother and heir of John de Murreff, as hostage for King David Bruce. Between 1355 and 1357 Sir Thomas seems to have been relieved, but there is another safe conduct for him to Berwick on the 13th August of the latter year, and on the 3rd October following he was one of the great lords of Scotland who placed themselves in the English monarch's hands as security for payment of King David's ransom. For this service, it is presumed, he obtained a gift of the lands of Airthrey, which was Crown property, during the pleasure of the King. The Sheriff of Stirlingshire, in his account for the period between Martinmas 1357 and 1359, takes no note of the rent of Airthrey for the first year of his account, because these lands were in the hands of Thomas of Moray by permission of the King. During 1358 Sir Thomas twice got license to go to Scotland about his affairs, and in 1359 (4th July) there is a safe conduct for several horsemen coming to him in England, while there is a similar protection to himself on the 10th November of the same year. On the 28th January, 1360, the King grants a safe conduct for Walter de Moray, probably Sir Thomas's wife's uncle, with an attendant, to come to Thomas de Moray, hostage for David Bruce, and this is the last we hear of him until his death (of the plague, it is said) in 1361. He left a widow, Joanna. The chroniclers and peerage-writers say she was his daughter and heiress, but the Papal registers twice call her Sir Thomas's widow. According to

one chronicler,<sup>1</sup> there was great rivalry for her hand among the *preux chevaliers* of the period, and Archibald Douglas (the Grim) only carried her off after defeating five Englishmen in successive duels.<sup>2</sup> Who this much sought-after lady was remained a mystery until the publication of the Laing Charters, a most valuable collection, carefully edited by the Rev. Mr Anderson, assistant curator of the Historical Department in the General Register House, Edinburgh. From a number of charters in this collection, it appears that the wife of Sir Thomas Moray was the daughter and heiress of Sir Maurice Moray of Drumsargard, Earl of Strathern, by Johanna de Menteith. She was a distant relative of her husband.

Thus far all has been plain sailing with our pedigree, but now we have to tackle a series of difficulties of no ordinary kind. If the Regent Moray had no other sons than Sir John and Sir Thomas, the direct male representation of the House of Bothwell came to an end in 1361 with the death of Sir Thomas, and we must look to some collateral branch for the chief of the Clan Murray. It is upon this point that the whole matter turns. Had the Regent a third son, and was that son the progenitor of the Murrays of Touchadam and Polmaise? These are the questions to which we have to address ourselves. Mr Riddell and Mr Bain are both of opinion that it is very probable Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel, who is referred to in charters dated 1364 and 1368 or 1369, and who was unquestionably Laird of Touchadam at the latter date, was the youngest son of Sir Andrew, the Regent. But let us first examine the evidence against such a probability. Sir Andrew is not found in possession of any part of the property which belonged to his father. We have already shown that the Regent's wife, Lady Christian Bruce, could scarcely have had any family to him, and the fact that at her death in 1357, no part of the Garioch, which she had received from the King on her marriage, descended to her husband's second son, Sir Thomas, who survived her three or four years, proves that he

<sup>1</sup> Gray.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Bain shows this to be mere romancing.—*Genealogist*, vol. xvi. p. 187.

was not her son. There is, therefore, nothing strange in the fact that the later Sir Andrew Moray is not known to have had possession of any of Lady Christian's lands. But we should naturally expect him to have had a portion of his father's if he were a lawful son of the Regent. Mr Riddell attempts to prove that Wicketshaw, on the Clyde, which formed part of the Barony of Touchadam at a later date, was previously comprehended in the Barony of Bothwell, but Mr Bain points out that this position is untenable, because Wicketshaw was Crown land in 1303. The only feasible explanation is that Archibald the Grim, when he got possession of Sir Thomas Moray's widow, also seized the whole of the family estates, to which she had no legal right, an outrage which the lawlessness of the times made it possible for such a powerful baron to commit. Mr Bain says it is certain that Douglas obtained the Barony of Bothwell in an irregular way, and that the carrying away by his wife of the great Barony of Bothwell, with many detached members in other parts of Scotland, from the rightful male line of the Morays to the Douglasses, who kept hold of it till their forfeiture in 1455, is a unique occurrence in Scottish conveyancing. He adds that, of course, it is just possible that Sir Thomas Moray put his wife in the fee of his estate, but without direct evidence this cannot be assumed, and in those days was a most unlikely act.<sup>1</sup>

There is the further difficulty that the hereditary office of *Panetarius*, which had descended from Sir William Moray, Lord of Bothwell, first to his brother Andrew, and afterwards to his grand-nephew, the Regent, and from him to his two sons in succession, was not held by Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel. The rapacious Douglas seems to have taken the pantrieman's place along with the Bothwell estates, for although he is nowhere described as *Panetarius Scotiae*, the cups sculptured on the tomb of his daughter-in-law in Lincluden College,<sup>2</sup> favour the supposition that he considered his wife had brought him that office along with the rest of the Bothwell plunder. It appears to have been afterwards granted to Henry St Clair,

<sup>1</sup> *The Genealogist*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *Frazer's House of Douglas*, vol. I. p. 353.

Earl of Orkney, who had married the granddaughter of Sir William Douglas, Lord of Nithsdale, a natural son of Johanna Moray's husband.<sup>1</sup>

That is the evidence against the Polmaise descent from Bothwell, and it is clear that it must be met by arguments of some weight, and not merely by suppositions. It seems hopeless to expect any direct proof that Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel was a son of the Regent. Such proof has been diligently searched for, but without success.<sup>2</sup> Of indirect proof, however, there is a good deal. There is first the fact that the later Sir Andrew was of kin to King David II. This is proved by an expression used by the King in the original charter of Touchadam and Touchmalier, dated 1368, in which the grant is to Sir Andrew Moray, *dilecto consanguineo nostro*, our beloved cousin. Mr Riddell states that such style of relationship was was not then given in charters to parties unwarily, or without due cause, so that Andrew was assuredly the King's blood kinsman, and he goes on to say the connection could only have been through Lady Christian, the sister of King Robert, mother, as he assumed (wrongly, I think), of the Regent Moray's children. But Mr Riddell overlooked the fact that the Papal dispensation for the marriage of the Regent with Christian Bruce, which he cites twice in the same volume, proves that they were related in the fourth degree of consanguinity, so that, as Mr Bain remarks, if Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel was the son of the Regent, he was a relative of David Bruce, whoever his mother might be, and, of course, he was as nearly related to his father's wife, Lady Christian, as he was to her brother, King Robert. It may be from this older connection with the Bruces that the Morays of Touchadam derive the royal treasure on their coat of arms, of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Macfarlane quotes an extract from the Kilravock MSS., stating that in addition to John and Thomas, the Regent had another son, Maurice, "but, as I conceive, died without succession" (*Gen. Coll.* ii. 505). It is possible Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel may have been the son of this Maurice, in which case, if he was an orphan of tender years at the death of his uncle, Sir Thomas, Lord Bothwell, the usurpation of his rights by Douglas would be all the more easy. There is a charter by David II. to Maurice Moray of the lands of Atheren (Airthrey), in Stirlingshire (*Rob. Index*, p. 67, No. 8), and Maurice de Moray witnesses a charter in 1342 (*Mearns Book*, p. 68), but this may have been Maurice, Earl of Strathern.

which something will be said later. Secondly, there is the grant to Sir Andrew Moray, designed in 1364 as *armigero nostro*, the King's armour-bearer, of lands in Stirlingshire, these lands lying near Airthrey, which was in the hands of Sir Thomas Moray of Bothwell in 1357, by concession of the King, while Sir Thomas was detained in England as a hostage for David's ransom. I am not inclined to attach much importance to this argument, which is one of Mr Riddell's. The lands of Kepmad, Sir Andrew Moray's earliest acquisition in the county of Stirling, were the gift to him of Agnes Keloch, or Kelour, who had a charter from David II. of Kepmad and the new park of Stirling, and if we could only discover who this lady was, some light might be thrown on the parentage of Sir Andrew.<sup>1</sup> She may have been a relative of the Regent's first wife, whose name, unfortunately, is unknown. Our ancient chroniclers took as little care to preserve the names of women in pedigrees as they did to hand down the names of younger sons who were either unmarried or had no issue. From this inexcusable neglect of the fair sex has arisen no small part of the blunders which are to be found in almost every old pedigree one examines critically. Thirdly, there is the Christian name of Sir Andrew himself. It would be strange indeed if a name so famous in the family of Bothwell had not been given to one of the Regent Moray's sons. I should not have been surprised if more than one son had been baptised Andrew in order to make the preservation of the name more assured, for it was not an uncommon practice at the period for two brothers to have the same Christian name, and instances could even be adduced of three brothers being called by the favourite name. Under the regulations of the Catholic Church, it was allowable to change the baptismal name at confirmation, and this was done when it was supposed there was no danger of the selected name dying out. I find in the Exchequer Rolls an Andrew of Moray mentioned as rendering the accounts of the Provoets of Aberdeen, and as he is not stated to be deceased in 1340, two years after the Regent's death, it is not impossible this

<sup>1</sup> "Kelour" was a personal name in Morayshire, as well as a place name in Forfarshire.—*A Survey of the Province of Moray, Aberdeen, 1798.*

Andrew was the son of the Regent, and identical with the Andrew who got the lands of Kepmad in 1364. Fourthly, we have pretty good heraldic evidence of the descent of Polmaise in the fact that in 1463 the arms of the Murrays of Touchadam, as proved by a seal affixed to a deed of that date, are exactly the same as those of the Morays of Bothwell, three mullets within a double tressure,<sup>1</sup> which are to be seen to this day on a stone in the east window of the choir of Bothwell Church. These arms are impaled with another shield also bearing three mullets, but without the tressure, and if Mr Bain's conjecture that the arms commemorate Sir Thomas Moray, last Lord of Bothwell, and his wife Johanna, be correct, as no doubt it is, we have here the arms both of the Bothwell line and that of Drumsargard. A beautiful seal of Johanna de Moray is attached, along with her second husband's, to a charter in the Swinton collection, now in the Register House. It is exactly the same as the arms impaled with those of Bothwell. The fact that there is no mark of cadency or difference in the Touchadam shield of so early a date, is considered a strong proof that this family continued the old line of Bothwell. How the other claimants to the chiefship of the clan have striven to be upsides with Polmaise on this point of arms, will be explained when I come to speak of them.

My own humble contribution to the discussion of the subject comes in here. The clue I obtained from Mr Riddell's suggestion that the descent of the Murrays of Ryvale, or Ruthwell, afterwards of Cockpool, in Dumfriesshire, and ancestors of the Earl of Annandale, who, it is said, belonged to the House of Bothwell, might possibly illustrate that of other lines. He quotes a charter granted in 1411 by Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to Sir Thomas Murray of Ryvale, in which Robert, son of the deceased Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel—he must have been a younger son—is called as one of the heirs of entail, and is styled cousin—*consanguineus*—of Sir Thomas, the granter. Here is an indisputable connection between the Murrays of Touchadam and the Murrays of Ruthwell, and if we can attach the

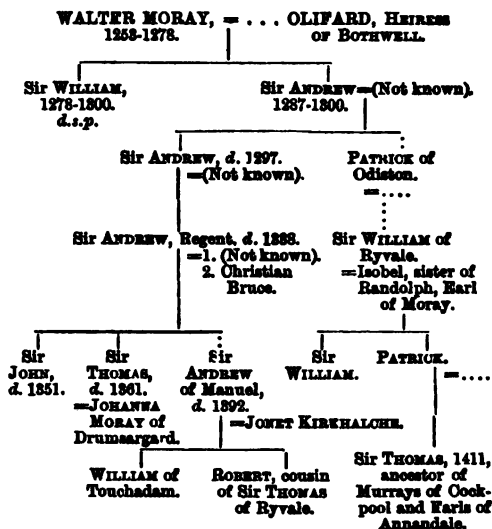
<sup>1</sup> Nisbet's *Heraldry*, p. 254.

latter to the Bothwell family, there is at least an indication that the former may also belong to the same branch of the Morays, which is the point that requires to be established. Mr Riddell notes the fact that the arms of the Murrays of Ryvale—a saltier engrailed with three stars on a chief—are distinct from those of Touchadam, and suggests that it may have been through his mother that Robert was related to Sir Thomas. I do not share this opinion, because Robert's mother was in all likelihood Janet Kirkhaleh, who was his father's wife in 1392, and I think the difference in the arms is accounted for by the Bothwell Morays' vassalage to the Bruces, who were Lords of Annandale, and whose arms—the saltier, or St Andrew's cross, with the difference of being engrailed—were born along with the three stars of Moray. It was not uncommon for vassals to bear the arms of their superiors. At a later period, this branch of the Morays became themselves Lords of Annandale. I may mention, however, that Stodart, in his *Arms of Scotland*, gives a seal of *Le Sieur de Copal*—the Lord of Cockpool—dated 1447, which shows the arms exactly the same as those of Polmaise, with the exception that the three mullets are within a single instead of a double tressure. The charter cited by Mr Riddell supplies us with the name of Sir Thomas Murray's father. It was Patrick, who accordingly was contemporaneous with Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel, father of Robert. Patrick's father was probably the William de Moravia who is stated by Craufurd in his *Peerage*, on what appears to be satisfactory evidence, to have received a grant of Ryvale from his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray. Can this line be carried farther back? I suggest that it can, through a certain Patrick of Moray, junior, who received from King Robert the Bruce a charter of the lands of Ediston in the Vale of Clyde.<sup>1</sup> I have not succeeded in finding the link between this Patrick and the father of the Patrick mentioned in the charter of 1411, but the identity of names is at least significant. It is of even more importance to observe that, in King Robert's charter to the earlier Patrick, he is styled *dilecto nostro*

<sup>1</sup> *Rob. Ind.*, p. 7, No. 78.

*consanguineo*, the exact words by which the undoubted progenitor of the Murrays of Touchadam and Polmaise is described in the charter of 1368, granted by King Robert's son, David Bruce. All the Morays were not sib to the King, and there can be little doubt that the Patrick Moray who was cousin to Robert Bruce, belonged to the same family as the Sir Andrew Moray who required a dispensation from the Pope to marry King Robert's sister, because they were in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and the later Sir Andrew Moray of Manuel, whom David II. called his cousin. There was also a double connection by marriage with the Bruces, if the descent supposed be correct, Sir William Moray of Ryvale, first cousin of the Regent, having married Isobel Randolph, sister of the Earl of Moray and daughter of Isobel, sister of King Robert and of Christian Bruce, wife of Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. There is still a little bit of evidence to strengthen the connection between the undesigned Patrick de Moravia of the reign of Robert I. and the Morays of Bothwell. The lands of Ediston, of which Patrick got a grant, are stated in King Robert's charter to belong to the deceased Walter, son of Roger. Now, I find from the *Rotuli Scotiæ* that, prior to 1296, this Walter held the lands of Odiston, which is the same place as Ediston (and in fact Odiston is just Udston, near Uddingston, which adjoins the Barony of Bothwell), from William Moray of Bothwell. It is a fair inference that the Patrick Moray who succeeded Walter, son of Roger, in the holding of Odiston, was a member of the family who were its superiors in 1296. If this be allowed, then I should say that Patrick was in all probability a younger son of the Sir Andrew Moray who died about 1299, and a nephew of Sir William, the superior of Odiston, as well as the brother of the heroic Sir Andrew who was mortally wounded at the battle of Stirling Bridge. With reference to the term "junior," which occurs in the charter of Odiston, it may be stated that at that time it was customary to apply the term to the younger of two brothers of the same name, and it is not impossible that there was a Patrick Moray, elder, who may have died prior to the date of the charter. A diagram pedigree will make the

descent a little clearer than I have been able to describe it.<sup>1</sup>



It may be observed that Sir Andrew Murray of Manuel, who was Sheriff of Stirlingshire in 1368, describes himself in a charter dated in the year of his death as of Ballynbruch, which I have ascertained to be part of the lands of Manuel. How these lands were obtained, or when they were detached from the Murray estates, I cannot tell. The charter referred to is one confirmed by Robert III., 14th May, 1392, and bears that Andrew of Murray granted to Janet of Kirkhalche *dilectus sue* (i.e., his dear wife), for her lifetime, the lands of Tuchadam in recognition of her advice and assistance, and in full of all claims and right she might have by reason of her terce.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of course, if Sir Andrew of Manuel were the son of Maurice, and grandson of the Regent, that would make the relationship with the Ruthwell branch a degree more distant, but would not affect the argument.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

This charter reads to me as if Janet were Sir Andrew's second wife. Sir Andrew was dead before the 3rd October of the same year, when Robert III. grants a charter to his elder son and heir, William Murray, of the lands and barony of Touchadam.

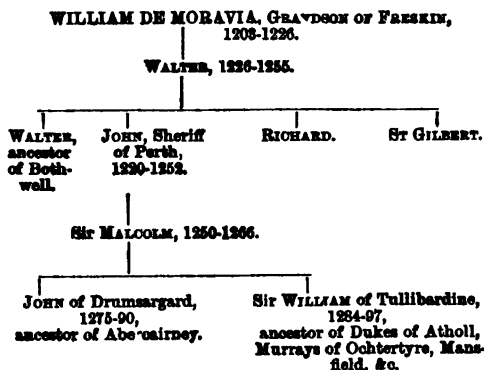
Having shown, so far as the evidence available will admit, the descent of the Murrays of Touchadam and Polmaise from the Morays of Bothwell, a descent of which any family might well be proud, and the claim founded on this descent to be head of the Clan, I proceed to notice shortly the other competitors for the Chiefship—namely, the Morays of Abercairney and the Dukes of Atholl, descending from Murray of Tullibardine.

With regard to Abercairney, it was, until recently, taken for granted that the old pedigrees correctly showed the descent to be from a Sir John de Moravia, who was said to be a younger son of Sir William Moray of Bothwell, also called of Drumsargard, an old barony now forming the parish of Cambuslang. But I have shown that this Sir William Moray had no sons, being succeeded either by his brother or his grand-nephew. Official records prove that there was a Moray of Drumsargard long before the date of the "Ragman Roll," 1296, this being John, son of Sir Malcolm, who flourished about 1260, and was the son of John de Murreve, Sheriff of Perth. Playfair, in his *Baronetage of Scotland*, identifies the Sheriff with John, brother of St Gilbert, and there is reason to believe he may be right, although, as a rule, he is not a very good authority to follow. If this be so, the family would branch off the main line of Strathbrock and Duffus about 1220, and accordingly ranks after the older branch, to which Polmaise belongs, if our pedigree be well established. The cadetship of Drumsargard is further attested by the seal of Sir William Murray—who must be distinguished from his contemporary, Sir William Moray of Bothwell—as attached to the Ragman Roll, and still to be seen. It shows the three mullets with a rose at either side for difference. This discovery is due to Mr Joseph Bain, and is most important. Sir John de Moray of Drumsargard, great-grandson of the Sir Malcolm already mentioned, acquired Abercairney by marriage with a daughter of Malise, Earl of

Strathern, between 1312 and 1319, and it can be proved that the Abercairney arms in the seventeenth century consisted of a chevron between three stars, and without the double tressure which distinguished the shield of the Morays of Bothwell.

As Moray of Abercairney only represents the Drumsargard branch in the female line, he would, in any event, have to acknowledge as the chief of the Clan the male representative of the senior branch, from which Drumsargard derives its origin.

The Tullibardine or Atholl branch is a step lower still, their ancestor being a younger brother of the founder of the Abercairney line.<sup>1</sup> The following sketch pedigree shows how these families branched off the main line :—



The argument of arms also tells against any pretensions to the chiefship on the part of the Atholl Murrays. The late Mr Cosmo Innes, who was inclined to favour the idea that this branch represented the oldest line, mentions a seal of Tullibardine bearing a bull passant with a solitary

<sup>1</sup> Mr D. Murray Rose, in an article contributed to the *Northern Chronicle*, says that the Murrays of Tullibardine and Atholl were really cadets of Moray of Culbin, whose ancestor was Sir Richard de Moravia, brother of St. Gilbert, and son of Murdao, a supposed younger brother of Freskin, grandfather of the William who appears at the head of the table given in the text. This descent would remove the Atholl Murrays still farther from the Bothwell line.

star. In 1626 the arms of William Murray of Tullibardine were the three stars, differenced by a chevron in the second and third quarters.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently all the Murrays, as Mr Riddell remarks, assumed that much-envied accompaniment of the royal treasure, shown, as we have seen, as early as 1463, on a seal of William Murray of Touchadam, then Constable of Stirling Castle. Moray of Abercairney, about 1780, registered his arms as three mullets within a double treasure—the arms rightly belonging to the Murrays of Polmaise. Well might Mr Stodart remark in his *Scottish Arms*, "The gradual assimilation of the arms of the different families of Murray is one of the most curious examples of changes in coat-armour in Scotland." So confident was the Tullibardine branch that they were chiefs of the clan, that one of the Dukes of Atholl, when a lad, and ignorant of the history of the arms of the Murrays, had the temerity to deface the arms of Murray of Polmaise which were emblazoned on his carriage, in the mistaken idea that they were a usurpation of the arms of his own family.<sup>2</sup> Of course the usurpation was all the other way. The arms of the Murrays of Touchadam and Polmaise have never changed. They remain the same as the Bothwell arms of 1361, so that if the question of chiefship were to be decided by the heraldic evidence alone, the family of Touchadam would, as Mr Riddell puts it, at once beat every other competitor out of the field.<sup>3</sup> Nor could that honour more worthily rest than upon the living representative of the

<sup>1</sup> Laing, however (vol. II. p. 128), mentions a seal of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, attached to a deed, dated 1601, and which shows three mullets within a double treasure, and the same arms appear on a painting of the portrait of Sir John Murray, 1st Earl of Tullibardine (1608) so that the assumption of the royal treasure must have been earlier than Mr Riddell or Mr Bain supposed.

<sup>2</sup> *Stewartianism*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> The heraldic evidence would be conclusive if Laing were right in ascribing to a Sir Andrew Moray, in 1857, a seal showing three mullets within a bordure charged with bezants (*Scottish Seals*, vol. II. p. 127), because the only Sir Andrew Moray alive in 1857 was Sir Andrew of Manuel, and first of Touchadam, and the arms described are those of Moray of Bothwell. I am afraid, however, this seal is identical with that ascribed by Mr Bain to Sir Thomas Moray, last Lord of Bothwell (*Cal. of Scottish Documents*, vol. III. No. 1600), who must have changed the Bothwell coat between 1857 and 1361 to three mullets within a double treasure.

good old stock which produced a succession of patriot leaders in troublous times. Five centuries have passed away since Sir Andrew Moray settled down in Touchadam, and his descendants have owned this estate without interruption (except such as arose from war) during the entire period. Few, even of our oldest Scottish families, can show an unbroken record of this kind.

My statement of the facts and arguments with reference to the chiefship of the Clan Murray, which by no means pretends to be conclusive, ends here, but I may add a few words of criticism of what I have called the latest and fullest pedigree of the Murrays of Polmaise. The Sir William de Moravia with whom it begins is no doubt the Sir William of Sandford who, according to Mr Riddell, Douglas, in his well-known *Baronage* foisted into the pedigree as the first Touchadam ancestor in the reign of Robert Bruce. There is no foundation for the assertion that he was the father of the Sir Andrew who comes next, and who, it is said, received a charter of the lands of Touchadam from King Robert the Bruce, 28th August, 1369, exactly forty years after the patriot King was in his grave. William, who follows, is said to have had a wife named Christina Cunningham, but she was in reality the wife of William's grandson. Between Alexander, who is given as the fourth Laird, and William, the fifth, there is a line drawn as if a hiatus occurred here in the pedigree, but there is ample evidence that William was the son of Alexander and his wife, Muriel Sandilands of Calder, whose name is given here for the first time. This William had at least four sons by his wife, Christina Cunningham, probably a sister of Alexander Cunningham of Leckie. Having been killed in a quarrel with the Bruces in 1473, he was succeeded by his son Alexander, who survived scarcely a year after his infatigable in the estates, and dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother David. In less than a month this David, probably because he was old and a bachelor, resigned in favour of his nephew, Sir John Murray of Galwamor, father of the Sir William Murray of Touchadam who was slain at Flodden in 1513. The latest pedigree gives John as the son and successor of this Laird, but the writs of Schaw of Sauchy and Greenock, cited in

Craufurd's MSS. in the Advocates' Library, refer to William Murray, son and heir of umquhile William Murray of Touchadam, son of John forfeited for being with King James III. at Bannockburn. I will not pursue the subject further, and I only mention these things to show how easy it is for genealogists to go wrong. Messrs Ross and Grant are perhaps to blame for following Douglas without checking the pedigree he gives, but they must be excused for not knowing particulars only recently revealed by the oldest of the Stirling Protocol Books, from which my information is mainly derived.<sup>1</sup> Like all old family pedigrees, that of Murray of Polmaise requires to be reviewed in the light of those researches which have made genealogy a more scientific pursuit than formerly.

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<sup>1</sup> An account of the family, written by the Laird of Polmaise in 1648, is also imperfect in the earlier part.

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## STIRLING TOWN COUNCIL AND THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN.

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### AN OLD LOYAL ADDRESS.

At a meeting of the Stirling Town Council, the Clerk (Mr T. L. Galbraith) stated that there had been sent to him a copy of the *London Gazette* for September, 1746, containing an Address presented to the King on behalf of the Corporation of Stirling after the battle of Culloden, and as it was found that the text of the Address was not engrossed in the minutes of the Council, he was instructed to purchase the paper and insert it in the minute-book. The *Gazette*, No. 8557, which is dated from Saturday, July 26, to Tuesday, July 29, 1746, consists of four folio pages, and bears an impressed halfpenny stamp. The Council minute relative to the Address is dated 7th July, 1746, and bears that "judging it expedient that they should address the King upon the victory obtained over the rebels at Culloden, and the form of an Address

having been presented and read in Council, they approve thereof, and appoint the Clerk to extend, and the Dean of Guild, in name of the Council, to sign the same and transmit the Address to Mr Erskine of Grange, Member of Parliament for this town, with a letter in name of the Council desiring him to present the Address to his Majesty, and therein to offer Mr Erskine their service." The *London Gazette's* report is as follows :—

*Kensington, July 29.*

**T**HE following Address of the Magistrates and Town Council of the Royal Burgh of Sterling has been presented to his Majesty by the Hon. James Erskine, Esq., their Representative in Parliament, being introduced by the Right Hon. the Earl Cowper, one of the Lords of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber in Waiting: Which Address his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Magistrates and Town Council of the Royal Burgh of Sterling.

**Y**OUR Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Magistrates and Town Council, as representing the Community of your Royal Burgh of Sterling, beg Leave, with the greatest Joy and Satisfaction, to express their most sincere and hearty Congratulations to your sacred Majesty, on the happy Success that has attended your Arms, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, your Majesty's Son, in overthrowing, at the Battle of Culloden, the presumptuous attempts of such of your rebellious and fatally deluded Subjects, as insolently and ungratefully presumed to rise in Arms against your Majesty's indulgent and mild Government, in Aid of the foreign Enemies of their native Country, under the dishonourable Conduct of the Son of a popish Pretender to an indefeasible Right from Heaven, of reducing your Majesty's free-born subjects of Great Britain to the Condition of Slaves, subject to an unlimited power over their Lives and Fortunes, and incapable of enjoying private property safe from his arbitrary demands, and at the same time professing, by the Principles

of his Religion, to subvert the Crown of Great Britain to the Authority of a Foreign Power, in the most sacred religious Concerns of the Nation, and joining with the French King, the natural and irreconcilable Enemy to the Liberty of these Kingdoms, in Measures and Councils directly tending to enslave this Island, and all Europe, to his insatiable Ambition.

We beg Leave likewise to express our most thankful Acknowledgments to your sacred Majesty, for the conspicuous Mark of Royal Favour shown to our Country, in sending his Royal Highness to be our deliverer from the Calamities under which we were oppressed by the Rebels, until his Royal Highness, by his vigorous and prudent Conduct, overcame the Difficulties arising from the Rigours of the Winter Season, and a pillaged and wasted Country, and drove his rebellious Enemies, assisted by a foreign Force, to the remote Northern Parts of the Island, and then gave them a total Defeat in a pitched Battle, with a most inconsiderable loss of your Majesty's Troops under his auspicious Command. We cannot however but regrave, that when we are again, by his Royal Highness's indefatigable Labours, restored to the Enjoyment of Peace, Quiet and Safety at home, the incurable Obstinacy of our rebellious Countrymen should still oblige his Royal Highness to submit, on our Account, to the Fatigues and Toils of residing in the midst of a mountainous, barren, and wasted Country. No Wonder that Language should fail in furnishing us with Words apt for expressing our gratitude for Favours so uncommon and so rarely the Subject of Thought or Discourse.

We cannot pretend so much as to be able to make, on our Part, Returns to your Majesty suitable to so distinguished Favours; but we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that we ever shall, with the greatest Cheerfulness, to the utmost of our Abilities, contribute to defend, with our Lives and Fortunes, your Majesty's sacred Person and Government against all your Enemies, foreign and domestick.

Signed in Presence and by Appointment of  
Council.

*William Dunstun, D. G.*

NOTES FOR A NEW HISTORY OF STIRLING.  
PART IV.\*"BELGEBRIG" AND ITS BUILDER.—A LINK WITH  
QUEEN MARY.

Thirteen years ago, or more, an esteemed lady-member of this Society—the late Mrs Hogg—did me the honour to write me a letter asking if I could throw any light on certain old landmarks mentioned in the Burgh Records. At that time she was preparing a paper on the second printed volume of the Records, and she specially wanted to know whether any information was obtainable with regard to the Plane Treis, Lawrie's Turnpike, Balnabrecht, and Belgebrig. My reply was a confession of inability to assist her, and I may be allowed to say here that I was not the person to whom she refers in her paper as having suggested that the "plane treis" may have been situated at the foot of St Mary's Wynd. I think her own idea that they stood near the site of the present High School was probably correct, although I have no authentic information on the subject. All these points I kept in view while pursuing my searches among the local records, and I am now in a position to deal with the mysterious Belgebrig. Mrs Hogg remarked in her paper, which was entitled "Glimpses of Old Stirling from the Town Council Records," and was read at a meeting held on 6th December, 1887, that Belgebrig was apparently a locality well known and centrally placed, but what it was—house, or street, or close—or where situated, was now impossible to say.

The name first occurs in an interesting list of the householders in the four quarters of the burgh between the years 1544 and 1550. The second quarter is stated to comprise "the hale Bakraw, south side of the hie-gait [*i.e.*, the street] beginning at Belgebrig, and ane part benetht on the north side." The third, or south, quarter was "fra Belgebrig douin," and the fourth, or north, quarter was "frae benetht Belgebrig." This landmark was evidently at or near the centre of the ancient

\* Paper read by Editor before the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, 19th February, 1901.

burgh. I am not surprised that Mrs Hogg was unable to say what Belgebrig was, because the first "g" which occurs in the word, although clearly written thrice in the record as printed, is a clerical error, and the proper letter gives the key to the puzzle. But even "Belgebrig" would indicate that it was neither a house, nor a street, nor a close that was meant, but a bridge, and a bridge it actually was. By an instrument of sasine, dated 1566, Andrew Scherar is infeft in a property which is described as lying on the east side of the way that leads from the top of the street, *summa viæ*, to "belzebrig." The situation of this house was on the left hand side coming down Bow Street, and proves that belzebrig was at the lower end of the street. The letter "z," which takes the place of the incorrect "g," is an old Scots method of marking the possessive case, and, therefore, Belgebrig, or Belzebrig, is just Bell's Brig. A sasine, dated 2nd January, 1573-4, leaves no room for doubt upon this point. It sets forth that among the obits formerly payable to certain altars in the parish church, and sold by the Town Council for the reparation and building of the common works, and specially "ye walls of ye toun," was one of 10s Scots per annum from a tenement on the north side of the Bakraw, "towarts bellis brig" (another old form of the possessive), between the land of John Henderson, baxter, upon the north-west, and the Bakraw upon the south, upon the east the common hiegait, and upon the west the land of John Paterson. This property, I have ascertained, is the house at the corner of Bow Street and St John Street—not, of course, the present building, but the thatch-roofed and probably wooden-fronted tenement that occupied the same site in the sixteenth century. The extant titles, for a perusal of which I am indebted to Mr Gilbert Henderson, painter, the present proprietor, do not go back further than 1671, and they contain no reference to Belzebrig. A sasine, which clearly refers to the adjoining house on the north, mentions the heirs of Thomas Henderson, probably the descendant of the John Henderson referred to in the deed of 1574. In 1614, the Council, in a minute anent the narrow passages of the burgh, statutes and ordains that no inhabitant extend any building out on the King's high causeway in any strait

parts of the burgh, and specially from the head of the Mary Wynd to the foot thereof, and from the Bellis yett, or gate, to the Laird of Keir's lodging. This latter passage was just Bow Street, which is called in a later record the Strait Bow, and Belzebrig, it will be seen, had by this time become Bellis yett.<sup>1</sup> The laird of Keir's lodging was at the head of the Bow.

There can be no doubt, therefore—at least I have



OLD MINT AND BROAD STAIR.

<sup>1</sup> It may be, as Mr Ronald thinks is more likely, that this strait passage extended down the Mydillraw as far as Bell's Close, the entrance to which may be the Bell's yett of the Council minute.

none—that Belsebrig was an arched building, by means of which access was had from Baker Street, then, like the Bow and south side of Broad Street, part of the Mydill Raw, to the upper part of the Bakraw, and, in fact, occupied the same position—as it served the same purpose—as the wide stair which led up to St John Street when the house traditionally known as the Old Mint was still standing, and there was no road between Baker Street and Spittal Street. After the road was made, the wide stair was replaced by the present one. The origin of “The Bow” as a street name in Stirling has sometimes been the subject of speculation, and I suggest that the name is taken from Bellis Brig. “Bow” is defined in Jamieson’s Scottish Dictionary as meaning an arch, and “bow-bridg” as an arched bridge, as distinguished from one formed of planks, or long stones, laid across the water. Belsebrig was an arch, probably bridging over an open ditch or sewer, and at the same time forming a roadway for foot passengers from the level of Baker Street to the higher level of St John Street, or the Bakraw. The Bow, as I have said, was originally part of the Mydillraw, and is not found in deeds with a name to itself till nearly the end of the seventeenth century, although in popular speech it would probably be “The Bow” before the removal of Bellis Brig and the erection of the wide stair. Or, for aught we know, it may have received the name to preserve the memory of the bridge which had served its day. There is, I find, an idea that the name of “The Bow” is owing to the shape of the street, but “bow” in this connection would mean crooked, and though Bow Street dips and rises, and turns slightly, it cannot be called crooked.

Who was the builder of Belsebrig, or from whom did it derive its name? No one who has studied the history of Stirling in the middle of the sixteenth century can have any difficulty in answering this question. In the old list of householders above referred to there is only one Bell, and undoubtedly this was William Bell of Spittal. For eighteen years before the Reformation, and for seven or eight years after that event, he was a person of considerable importance in Stirling. He lived here during all Queen Mary’s reign, and was perhaps more closely associated with her

Court than any other citizen. He was merely an innkeeper, but in these days "mine host" of a certain class was in reality a host in himself. Of the early history of Bell I have not succeeded in learning anything. His ancestry I have also failed to trace. There is some reason to think his father may have been one of the household servants of James V., for it was not uncommon for such persons to settle in the town, but this is only a supposition which may be right or wrong. By 1542, the year of Queen Mary's birth, he was a married man, and the owner of landed property. On 6th April of that year, he and his wife renounced the lands of Livilands and Biscatlunds, to which they had a liferent right, in favour of James Cunningham of Polmaise. The deed of renunciation bears that it was done in the hospitium of the said William Bell. Fortunately, we are able to fix the site of this famous hospitium. It was the house at the east end of Graham's Court at the foot of Broad Street, now belonging to Holy Trinity Church. In 1588 the east boundary of the laird of Keir's house, which is now Nos. 18-22 Bow Street, is described as William Bell's garden. This garden, a very extensive one, appears in numerous sasines as bounding houses in Baker Street on the north, and it formed part of the west boundary of the ground now belonging to the Boys' Industrial School. The entry to the school was called Bell's Close for centuries, taking its name, like Bell's Brig, from William Bell, and if it were not hopeless to expect anything from a Town Council which christens a new street in the Cow Park Coburg Avenue, I would suggest that the old name should be restored to the close, as it would recall the historical associations of the locality. In 1661 "the tenement of old belonging to the deceased William Bell" is described in a sasine as lying waste. At that time it was the property of David Moir of Craigarnhall, afterwards of Leckie, who rebuilt the house. The tavern business had long before been transferred to the front house in Broad Street, which had been purchased from the Earl of Kellie by Janet Kilbowie, who, as the Burgh Records show, carried on a flourishing trade, and seems to have been a very popular hostess.

Returning to the career of Willie Bell, as he was familiarly called, I find him in 1543 witnessing a charter of Wester Colding, *alias* Craighead, in favour of Robert Gib of Carriber, Master of Horse to James V., some of whose descendants are buried in our churchyard. In the same year William Bell, burgess of Strieuling, witnesses at Edinburgh a charter of the lands of Carnock in favour of John Drummond of Innerpeffray and Lady Margaret Stewart, his spouse. Mr Bell was clearly making his way among the aristocracy. He attained to the dignity of a Baillie of the burgh in 1544, having doubtless been a member of the Town Council for some years previously. Another William Bell—not improbably a son of the Baillie, since he does not appear as a householder in the old list—was a Councillor at the same time, but there need be no hesitation in assigning the superior office to the energetic and ambitious innkeeper. William Bell, one of the Baillies of Stirling, renders to Exchequer the Burgh's accounts from 18th March, 1544, to 18th August, 1547, although he appears to have been appointed Treasurer of the Burgh at Martinmas, 1546. In the interval he had enjoyed the still higher honour of representing the Burgh in the Scottish Parliament. Belsbrig, I think, was built about this time, and in view of the enterprising and ambitious character of the man, anxious as he was to obtain the public favour, it is a fair conjecture—for there is no direct evidence on the point—that he was the builder, or the donor, of the bridge, which must have been of great public utility. Additional proof of his public spirit at this period is afforded by a minute of the Town Council, dated 18th April, 1548, which sets forth that William Bell, John Forester, and Walter Cousland “offerit for to big ane wind mill to the town for seven years tak fre, and xx li. of mail for the rest of xix year.” This shows that Bell had at least an inclination for building, and if the Council did not accept the offer, of which there is no further record, they must have regretted it at the Reformation, when the grasping Alexander Erskine of Gogar, whose town house was at the Broad Street end of the court in which Bell had his tavern, obtained from the Blackfriars, who plainly foresaw their fate, a conveyance of

the two mills belonging to the town, and which it took nearly a century to recover.

We now come to a strange and somewhat suspicious episode in William Bell's municipal career. As I have mentioned, he was Treasurer of the Burgh in 1546-7, and in this capacity he had the handling, not only of the ordinary burgh revenues, but of the large sum of £2008 5s 5d Scots, being contributions obtained from the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, and the nobility and gentry of Scotland, for the building and strengthening of the town walls, so as to make Stirling a safer home for the infant Queen. William Bell's increasing wealth, and especially the acquisition by him of the burgh lands of Spittal, lying to the north and west parts of the Lang Calsay, made people wonder where he got all the money, and when an examination of his accounts showed that he had failed to account for £354 19s 10d of the above-mentioned subscriptions, the Council thought it was time to have count and reckoning with their former Treasurer. Accordingly, in 1554, they raised an action against him, and early the following year called upon him to produce his title to Spittal before the Lords of Council. Six months later, however, the case was settled by arbitration. Bell was left in possession of Spittal, the feu-duty of which was fixed at £13 6s 8d, but he was obliged to resign Bridge-haugh, one of its pertinents. The unaccounted-for contributions, which he alleged he had never received, he was given in a present, with power to recover the money in name of the town. This settlement suggests that while Bell had made rather free with the town's lands—a fault which is not peculiar to Town Councillors of the sixteenth century—he was not proved to have been dishonest; or it may be that in consideration of what he had done for the town, the Council were not disposed to be very severe. A William Bell appears afterwards in the lists of Bailies and Town Councillors, but this may have been the son, or namesake, of the Laird of Spittal. In 1557, Bell sold the lands of Spittal to Mungo Graham, a younger son of the Earl of Montrose, and in the same year he disposed to David Drummond of Myinnab whatever rights he had to Bissetlands, and other properties, including a tenement in the

burgh. This was perhaps done preparatory to a curious investment in the glebe and kirklands of the rectory and vicarage called Over and Nether Clifton, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which formed part of the possessions of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, although I do not find them mentioned in the Rev. Dr Rogers' volume on that institution. The explanation may be that Bell had a son educated for the church, and took this means of providing him with a living. He certainly had a son, with regard to whom the Prior and Convent of Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1549, at a time when there was no Abbot, protested that they had been ordered by the Queen's Grace and Privy Council to give two conventual portions of the Abbey to a son of William Bell, "within innocent yeiris," for his lifetime, although it was contrary to justice to give portions to rich men's sons and so many poor in the country. What came out of this plucky and very proper protest is not recorded.

The wealthy Stirling innkeeper owed not a little to his friends at the Court, and royalty itself honoured him with its patronage. It was Willie Bell's lodging that was the real Darnley's House, and not the building in front which the late Sir James Alexander of Westerton induced the Town Council to mark with a stone bearing a ridiculous inscription. This latter house belonged to the Erskines of Mar, and, as I have already mentioned, was sold by the first Earl of Kellie to Janet Kilbowie. It is said that while James VI. was being baptised in the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle, his father sulked in his lodgings, but historians differ as to whether Darnley at that time was lodged in the Castle or in Bell's house. Miss Strickland remarks that the testimony of Du Croc, that Darnley confined himself to his apartments in the Castle during the baptismal fêtes, refutes the vulgar tradition that to show his displeasure to the Queen he outraged public opinion and disgraced himself by spending his time in inebriety in the tavern in St Mary's Wynd. It is difficult to judge whether Miss Strickland understood Willie Bell's hospitium to be in St Mary's Wynd, or whether she is referring to some other tavern, which she innocently supposes to have been the only one in the Wynd. An extract from a diary

which Miss Strickland contends was afterwards fabricated for the Queen's defamation, and which is certainly dated wrong, sets forth that Queen Mary and the Earl of Bothwell passed to Stirling on 5th December, 1568, and took the King from his lodging in Willie Bell's house, and placed him very obscurely in the Castle. This proves, at any rate, that it was William Bell's house that Darnley frequented when he came to Stirling. With regard to another memorable event there is no doubt. On the 4th September, 1568, Maitland of Lethington, with whom Queen Mary had quarrelled, arrived in Stirling for the purpose of making his peace with the Queen, and it is recorded he "did lie at ane Willie Bell's." On the following day Queen Mary dined with Lethington at William Bell's house, remained a good part of the afternoon with him, and liked him very well. (It is "William Bett's house" in the print of the State Paper from which the quotation is made, but the mistake has no doubt arisen from taking the flourish through the two "l's," which in the old handwriting signified "s" for the crossing of two "t's.") The hapless Queen Mary, whose innocence one wants so much to believe, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, never visited Willie Bell's house again, and her husband, immediately after the occasion already referred to, took the sickness which ended so suddenly and so terribly in Kirk o' Field.

A local tragedy of a later date connects Mary Queen of Scots with the name of Bell. In the month of September, 1571, Kirkaldy of Grange, who held Edinburgh Castle for Queen Mary's friends, sent an expedition to Stirling to surprise the other faction. The leader of this force was Captain George Bell, who, it is narrated, being a native of Stirling, was able to guide his men, who had left their horses outside the burgh, through the opening in the Town Wall near the Parish Church in the grey of the morning, before the inhabitants were astir. The result was that the leaders of the King's party, then living in the burgh, were all taken prisoners, but the Liddesdale men remaining behind to pillage the merchants' booths, time was given to the Earl of Mar to bring down a party of soldiers from the Castle, who rescued the prisoners and put the enemy to flight. The Regent Lennox, however, was shot at

Newhouse by Captain Calder of the Queen's party, in revenge for the execution of Archbishop Hamilton, and the assassin, along with Captain Bell, falling afterwards into the hands of the King's troops, both were executed. Sir Wm. Drury, who had been sent to Scotland by Queen Elizabeth to open negotiations for peace between the two parties, writing to Lord Burghley, encloses several documents, including reports of the examination of Captain George Bell touching the Regent Lennox, dated at Stirling, 3rd September, and of the second examination and deposition of Bell on the same subject, dated Stirling, 6th September, together with Calder's confession as to the murder, of the same date. These dates seem to show that Tytler, the historian, is mistaken in stating that the raid on Stirling occurred on the morning of the 4th September, and that Bell and Calder were instantly executed. Bell, it appears, was hanged, and Drury says Calder was executed in the French way, that is, broken on the wheel.<sup>1</sup> This awful tragedy was doubtless enacted in the High Street of Stirling. Was Captain George Bell a son of Willie Bell, in whose house Darnley lodged and Queen Mary dined with Lethington? It is not improbable. William Bell of Spittal was twice married. His first wife was Margaret Crichton, of whom nothing is known. She must have been the mother of the boy who got the two conventual portions of Cambuskenneth Abbey. About 1550, Bell married, secondly, Sybilla Drummond. Malcolm, in his "Genealogy of the House of Drummond," says that John Drummond, 2d of Colquhais, had a daughter "married to — Bell, a rich merchant in Stirling," and this is apparently Willie Bell's wife, although Sybilla was a more common name in the families of Drummond of Blair and Drummond of Inner-

<sup>1</sup> The *Diurnal of Occurrents* gives a very full account of the Bell and Calder raid. They are said to have left Edinburgh at 6 o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd of September, and to have reached Stirling between 3 and 4 next morning. "Upon the anocht day of the said moneth, George Bell lieutenant to Capitane Gilbert Montgomery, being tane in Stirling, was hangit; and James Calder lieutenant to Capitane James Bruce, being siclyk tane in Stirling in manner forsaide, was broken on the root; quhairat the Queenis lieutenantis and hir men of wease war most grevouslie offendit."

peffray. It was a Sybilla Drummond, sister of the first Laird of Innerpeffray, who was poisoned along with her two sisters in 1502, and buried in Dunblane Cathedral. No doubt it was a great marriage for the Stirling innkeeper, and it is to be regretted that his family died out so soon. His heirs seem to have been in possession of Bridgehaugh in 1623, but the name of Bell as a living person drops out of the local records long before that date.

In the Bow, reminiscent of Belzebrig, and in Bell's Close, we have two memorials of a remarkable man and a prominent citizen, through whom our ancient and royal burgh seems somehow to have a homelier and more intimate connection with Queen Mary and her husband, Lord Darnley, than any arising from the great historical events which lend so much importance to Stirling Castle. The ground floor of Willie Bell's house can still be seen, with its vaulted roof, probably as it existed in Queen Mary's time, and if haply you meet with another Willie—Mr William Drysdale, who occupies part of the modern superstructure—he will be glad to introduce you to Willie Bell's garden, where one can fancy the lords and ladies of the Scottish Court gossiping and flirting in the gay sunshine, with, perchance, an occasional admiring glance at the far-stretching panoramic plain below, a prominent feature in which must have been the sacred fane of "Cambuskenneth Abbey grey."

#### A LOCAL LINK WITH ROBERT BURNS.

The *Sentinel* a few weeks ago recorded the death of one of the Misses Forrester, Snowdon Place, a daughter of the late Captain John Napier Forrester of Craignannet. This gentleman was the son of Gabriel Forrester, Lieutenant in Stirling Castle, the Captain Forrester who is mentioned in Burns' "Journal" as being one of the famous supper party in the Stirling inn (now the Golden Lion Hotel) on Monday evening, 27th August, 1787. The others present, in addition to the poet and his friend Nicol, were Dr Doig, Rector of the Grammar School, and Mr Christopher Bell, English master, Session Clerk,

and precentor in the East Church. Captain Forrester Burns describes as "a merry, swearing, kind of man, with a dash of the sojer." Whether Forrester went home to the Castle that night or remained in the inn, it is certain that he breakfasted with Burns the following morning, and as the latter had previously written a long and interesting letter to his friend Gavin Hamilton, it may be assumed that the supper party was a very sober one. Lieut. Gabriel Forrester was the only son of John Forrester of Braes, by Helen Napier, only daughter of Gabriel Napier of Craigannet. The Forresters of Easter Braes were cadets of the Forresters of Denovan, sprung originally from the Forresters of Torwood and Garden, and it would appear that the marriage of John Forrester, younger of Braes, with Helen Napier, about 1749, was a runaway match, as in a recorded deed of that date Nelly Napier is stated to have married without her father's knowledge or consent. This circumstance, however, seems to have caused no disagreement between the families, which had been previously connected by marriage, as Nelly's son was called after her father, and she herself succeeded to Craigannet in 1789, on the death of her brother, John Napier, without issue. It is interesting to note, also, that the Misses Forrester, two of whom still survive, are lineal descendants of Sir John Napier of Merchiston, the famous discoverer of logarithms. Gabriel Napier of Craigannet, who was an Edinburgh writer, was the son of Francis Napier, Provost of Stirling (who acquired Craigannet from his nephew, David Liddell), and grandson of William Napier of Ardmure, who was the fourth son of Sir John Napier of Merchiston by his second marriage with Agnes Chisholm, daughter of Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix. The Misses Forrester are, therefore, the great-great-great-great-granddaughters of the illustrious Napier, eight lives bridging over a period of 351 years, and their ancestry can be traced as far back as 1400, if not further, through the Napiers of Kilmahew, while through the Chisholms of Cromlix their descent dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. This is a fairly "lang pedigree" for the two Stirling ladies.

Ed.

16th April, 1901.

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**"NEW LIGHTS" ON BANNOCKBURN.**

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Mr Andrew Lang, in a London contemporary, says:—There is not, and cannot be, any doubt that (in official phrase) the Battle of Bannockburn was "an unfortunate accident." The English certainly were not victorious. But Scottish patriots may not be exactly enchanted by the recent discoveries of Mr Neilson, in his "John Barbour, Poet and Translator" (Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.) There are many contemporary accounts of the battle, and Barber's account, in his poem, "The Bruce," is not contemporary. "The Bruce" was finished some sixty years after the date of the fight, in or about 1376. But it is the most copious and picturesque version—it was used by Scott in "The Lord of the Isles," and despite the efforts of sceptical critics many of Barbour's details find their way into sober histories. Among these details are Bruce's speech to his army, and the breaking of his battle-axe on the head of Sir Henry Bohun. Now, Mr Neilson proves that part of the speech and much of the description of the slaying of Bohun are practically identical, even in language, with portions of an early Scots translation of the old French romance of Alexander the Great. Whoever wrote "The Bruce" (and Barbour's claim is established beyond reasonable scepticism) had certainly access to the recollections of men who fought under the hero. But as certainly he helped himself from the French romance. Mr Neilson argues, no doubt rightly, that Barbour wrote both "The Bruce" and the old Scots translation of the Alexander romance. But it is a little disconcerting to find that Bruce, in his preparations for Bannockburn, closely follows the Alexander of the French romance—the very same lines occur in both poems. In "Alexander" the King breaks his sword on his foe; in "The Bruce" he breaks his axe. Bruce probably did cut down somebody, but Sir Thomas Gray (whose father was a prisoner in the Scottish camp) makes that somebody not Sir Henry Bohun, but a different gentleman. The part of Bruce's speech as to abstaining from plunder till the battle is over occurs in the French romance and in the Scots translation. The battle and pursuit have identical passages. The "parallels," ee-

pecially as to Bohun, are in Mr Neilson's phrase, "somewhat uncomfortable." To be sure, the early printed edition of the Scots version of Alexander (from a lost manuscript) bears a clophon dating 1438. If that were so, still Barbour might have translated from the French, and his versions might have been borrowed by the translator of 1438. It is infinitely more probable that this date is a misprint, or refers to the time when the M.S. was merely re-copied. One thing is certain—the author of "The Bruce" helped himself freely from the French versified romance.

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#### ST CORBET'S WELL.

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In "Old Scottish Customs, Local and General," by E. J. Guthrie, author of "Tales of the Jacobites," &c., published in 1885, there occurs the following paragraph, which is interesting from a local point of view:—

##### "PILGRIMAGE TO ST CORBET'S WELL.

"At the summit of the Touch Hills, Stirlingshire, a little to the west of Stirling, there may be seen by the curious a crystal well which in ancient times was believed to possess the peculiar quality of insuring, for a twelvemonth, the lives of all who drank of its waters before sunrise on the first Sunday in May. In 1840 there were old men and women then alive who in their younger days had been of the number of those who made annual pilgrimages to St Corbet's Well on the morning in question. They described the gatherings on the anniversaries as having been splendid. Husbands and wives, lovers with their sweet-hearts, young and old, grave and gay, crowded the hilltops in the vicinity of the well long before dawn, and each party on their arrival took copious draughts of the singularly blessed water. It is reported that St Corbet, after a lapse of years, deprived the well of its life-preserving qualities in consequence of the introduction of 'mountain-dew' of a less innocent nature into these annual festivals."

Dundee.

W. H.

### THE CHRISTIES AND THEIR DOINGS.

The name Christie, as family names go in Scotland, is comparatively modern, dating only from the 13th century. Tradition derives it from Christinus, *judex de Levenax*, eighth son of Alwyn II., Earl of Lennox, who fought in the Third Crusade, and from which Alwyn the families of Macfarlane and Napier are also said to be derived. Tradition in the case of the Christies is supported by the family arms and distribution, both of which can be well traced and explained on this supposition. It is true the Douglas peerage knows no family of Christinus, but the Paisley Chartulary, a contemporary document, does under the date 1234, &c.—e.g., "*Dungal filius Christini judicis de Levenax et Matildis sponsa sua*," and a regular succession of Christini is found during the next two centuries, among whom appears "*Christinus judex*," present at Arbroath in 1299. In the 14th century persons of the name of Christinus are found in each of the districts where less than a century later the name appears in one or other of its native forms—Crysty (1457), Christy (1476), Crystie (1508), Criste (1520), Christie (1546.)

The first mention of the native form of the name is to be found in the Macfarlane Genealogical Collection, vol. I., page 410 (*Advocates' Library*, Edinburgh), under the year 1206, where Cristy of Foyness, in the Aird, is mentioned as one of Bisset's barons, a connection with the north which may be explained in part by the connection of the Byssets with Dunbreton and their having vassals there, as shown by the Chartularies of Levenax and Paisley. In the Aird we meet with a succession of Cristini till 1451, when they seem to disappear. Of course, in tracing this family care must be taken to distinguish between the names Cristinus and Christianus, and unfortunately printed editions of old documents do not always do this. With this caution and careful search in old documents and charter chests north of the Forth, there should be little difficulty in one or more branches of the family establishing their connection with the first Cristinus.

Modern representatives of the family are in our day traceable to one or other of the following dis-

tricts in Scotland :—(1) Fife and Stirling, (2) West Forfarshire, (3) Mearns and Montrose, (4) Aberdeenshire, and (5) Banffshire.

Crests as a rule count for nothing at all, and vary from time to time. The most common one for this family is a holly branch or tree, or stump in some form or other. The Durie family, however, have "a dexter hand holding a massive letter proper," while the Balchristie has "a cross calvary on three grices gules." The mottoes are :—For Durie family, "Pro rege ;" for Balbeuchlie and Balchristie, "Sit vita nomini congrua," while all the others seem to have "Sic veresco." Of course, it must be remembered that the right to bear arms depends on a clean descent in the male line from some one who has matriculated in the Lyon Register since 1672.

The Rev. Dr Rogers, in his little book on the family, says it "has produced more than an ordinary share of notable members, of whom no inconsiderable portion have occupied useful and important posts in the public service." Stirling and Glasgow have had Provosts of the name, both from the Stirling branch ; while the same stock can be traced the present Astronomer Royal and the head of the famous auctioneering house in London. Edinburgh had in 1698 a Lord Provost Sir Robert Christie, while the Mearns branch gave to Montrose several provosts of distinction, and to the country no end of learned men, one of whom, Richard Copley Christie, just last year gave to Owen's College, Manchester, the Christie Library and the Whitworth Hall, the latter costing £50,000. The Durie and Stenton families also have given to the army and navy many efficient officers.

In matters ecclesiastical they have been nothing if not hearty, and that in whatever denomination they were found. The earlier members seem to have held ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical offices, as they frequently appear with the prefix "dominus," or with the designation "clericus domini." In the Roman Catholic Church we find Jesuits of the name between 1578 and 1660, and probably George Christie was rector at Douay when the Bible translation was finished there in 1609. In 1617 we find the Rev. Jhone Christie at Dundee petitioning for purity of worship against

Episcopacy, while all available references point to James Christie of Balbeuchlie, an old man who had come through the Reformation, taking his stand for the Covenant along with his family to the third generation—a fitting theme for poet or painter. On the other hand, we find Rev. James Christie of Kirkcovan, and the Rev. Henry Christie, of Kinross, dispossessed in 1689, and the latter becoming a non-jurant Bishop in Dundee. Strange to say, his father seems to have favoured the Commonwealth, and was fined £1200 in 1662. Among the Quakers, too, we find an Alexander, born at Aberdeen in 1642, but he settled in Ireland, and his descendants have generally spelt their name Christy.

In political matters they seem to have taken a less active part, but in the Scottish roll of members of Parliament we find David Christie of Balcallie, from 1685 to 1690. Another David Christie was Secretary of State for Canada in 1874, and William Douglass Christie was plenipotentiary to the Argentine Republic and Brazil as well as M.P. in the present century. In Norway, too, we find a Christie, doubtless a member of the Scottish family, President of Parliament and leader of the independence movement in 1814 at Bergen, where his statue may be seen in the public square.

From what has been said it will be seen that this family can be no clan, and consequently can have no tartan. Members fought on both sides in the '45, and perhaps the relatives of those who took the Stuart side might be inclined to use the tartan of the clans they joined. But that would confer no right, and, indeed, such a family requires to be an appendage or vassal to none. Though not quite so old as the hills, it will be seen to be "infinitely more respectable," and there can be little reason why they should not in some way draw together into "a bond of unity," when the Stuarts, Lindsays, Fergusons, and others are doing this. It was probably the respectability of the family that induced a Swiss settler in England in the last century to change his name from Christin to Christie, and the fact that they have attained to high offices and married into the foremost families in England goes a long way to show that there is something in a name.

A NATIVE OF DUNBLANE SAID TO BE A  
SON OF "PRINCE CHARLIE."

John Miller, beadle to the Anderston United Free Church, who passed into his 91st year last Hallowe'en, was acquainted in his youth—"sat under," in the Scots sense—one who by common report was the natural son of Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender. To say that there is living a man who has known and been in personal touch with a son of the Adventurer, while at the same time never stirring fifty miles from Anderston in his life, seems like saying a vain thing, but this is by no means the case. On the 15th August, 1775, the Relief Church of Anderston appointed one James Steuart, minister to their congregation. Information concerning the young preacher is, so far as superficial research goes, meagre and hard to seek. It is said he was born in Dunblane, and educated for the Established Church. At time of appointment he was engaged as an assistant in St Andrew's, Glasgow. He was not an ordained minister. The rumour of his parentage seems to have been widely spread at the time, and it is rather curious that none of our excellent local historians were stirred to commit themselves to the subject. Mr Steuart's death occurred shortly after "Waverley" had roused the public to the keenest interest in all that concerned the Jacobite cause, and it impossible to suppose that the chroniclers of the great and small beer of the time would have kept their pens from so interesting a subject unless we suppose they considered it was not for mere man to hint at the illegitimacy of a Relief Kirk minister however illustrious the father they would accredit to him.

That it was gossip in the early part of the century is undeniable, as Mr Miller and other old Anderston worthies can avouch. Strang, the discreetest man who ever wrote on clubs and taverns, makes this single irritating reference to what curiosity:—"Mr Stewart, the clergyman, who was said to be a son of the Pretender, after preaching the action sermon and serving at the first able, took his staff in hand and walked into the churchyard to hear the tent preaching, where he encountered two boys riding on one of the

gravestones, and having lifted his stick and pursued one of them, the other cried, 'Weel done—thraash him weel—his father's an anti-Burgher—he has nae richt to be here!'" However thrilling a light this throws on the sectarian jealousies of the time, one would have wished that Strang had mentioned more on the head of the Rev. James Steuart. Writing in the sixties that our subject "was said to be the natural son of the Pretender," Strang at anyrate contributes something, as there were few better informed than he on Glasgow history, and had the tale been contradicted anywhere he would have been aware of it, and it is fair to assume that he would not have let the reference stand as it does. On the 15th June, 1819, the minister passed away quietly in the midst of his people in the pleasant village of Anderston, where he had spent the last 44 years of his life. He died in his seventy-fourth year, and was therefore born in 1746—the year of Culloden, of the Prince's flight, and of the downfall of the Stuart cause.

The case for the supposition, as we understand it, is fairly plausible. Our minister spelt his name James Steuart, an unusual method which might be read to hint a difference between this Steuart and the other Stewarts or Stuarts of the country. He was born in Dunblane, a district where Charles Edward spent some time and received much hospitality; and it is known that the "ranting, roving" characteristics of the Adventurer were not stilled even then by the cares of his precarious state. The Mother may have followed the army to Edinburgh, as did many another lass, with the white cockade in her bonnet, returning to Dunblane to give birth of the boy. The bonny serving maid of Balhadie, who kissed the Prince's boots, according to the story, tempts further speculation, but let us pass to what after all is the most tangible link in the case—common tradition. The story received much credence at the time of the minister's death, which seems to show that there was no very distinct information given then as to his parentage. The Reverend Mr Aitkman makes no mention of that in the centenary service some fifty years later, and the "Glasgow Courier's" obituary notice of June, 1819, is also silent on that point. It must be 100 years now

since the tradition went abroad, yet there are those living who still hold to it; and, as Motherwell says, "except where the glory of a family is concerned, oral tradition is never to be distrusted." Perhaps these notes may bring out more light on the subject.

Take it that James Steuart, preacher of the Gospel to the bleachers, weavers, and brewers of Anderston, had the blood of the fatal Stuarts in his veins, and was half-brother to that gloomy minister of another church whose death in Italy extinguished the direct Royal line in 1807, how strange his life would read. A healthy, rather irascible gentleman of stout, smallish make, "his voice was good, his eye bright, his manner polished, and his address animated." His stipend ran to some hundred pounds with "20 kerts coal, rent, Sacrament bread, and bun at New Year's Day"—the last valued at 14s—which would fairly suffice for ordinary wants in these days. During his long ministry he took an active interest in the civil as well as religious needs of his flock, and there is no reason to believe that he was more unhappy than other people or discontented of his office. The minister of Anderston had apparently no quarrel with the Hanoverian, as we hear that he officiated as chaplain of the local volunteers in 1803, when the panic of a French invasion was in the air. He published an excellent discourse on the subject when he laid stress on Britain's actual declension in religion rather than the supposed decline of the national greatness, and a sermon on the "Banner of Britain displayed to assemble her Brave Warriors." His service to his church also included the compilation of a hymn-book. When John Millar last saw him he was in the pulpit, and his stern eye kept that young callant from much intended mischief with the green buttons of the pew back. His life was quiet, busy, and even marked with the small events of the weaving village; and his dust now lies in the mouldy Anderston Kirkyard beside his predecessor in the ministry, and a plain monument, recently erected there, marks the spot. Could the irony of fate offer anything more keen than that this decent, quiet, godly man was the son of that "Torch which waved over Britain with such terrific glare," and the descendant of a line of kings?

Mr Miller, whose life has almost bridged the century, is still well to the fore. A hale, luskily old fellow carrying his years easily on his broad back, and discharging the duties of his office with the sedate activity to which his personal experience is almost a pedigree of beedles has added a finish unattainable nowadays, Mr Miller has been present and assisted almost at the birth of Glasgow manufactures, which, as all the world knows, began at Anderston. The village, suburb, and now district of Anderston has been good to the veteran, who has spent the long course of his life within its boundaries, barring an adventurous six months' sojourn elsewhere in pursuit of his trade. He worked for 40 years as a block printer on the printfields for which the district was celebrated, and his official connection with the Anderston Relief, and latterly U.P., and now the U.F. Church extends to nearly the same period. As gravedigger he built the "houses that last till doomsday" in the kirkyaird, has stood the bitter atmosphere of Anderston, which bites into the gravestones till only your granite lasts a good ten years, and all the time has kept his health and sense of humour. Born a year before Napoleon, had begun his preparations for invading Russia, when the Marquis of Wellington was planning and fighting on the lines of Torres Verdas, four years before the first Scot's novel was given to the world, he has lived to see—but there, one could go on for columns of your valuable space with what John Millar has lived to see in this century of wonders, let alone what he may live to see in the century on whose threshold we are now standing.—*N.B. Mail.*

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#### ANTIQUARIAN QUERIES.

DEAR SIR,—I trust you will publish this note in your paper, and that some of your antiquarian readers will throw light on these matters.

In old maps published 1745, 1780, 1794, 1819, a good large island is marked as standing at the west end of Loch Coulter, but in a map published 1829 no island is shown, neither is the island shown in the Government survey maps of about forty years ago, or of the present day. A native

of the loch side says he remembers while in a boat seeing on the island, under water, a number of years ago, boards and planks which, he thought, were the foundations of a building, and at that time there were to be seen on this submerged island large numbers of common broken clay tobacco pipes, which, he believed, had been made in this house on the island. Can any one tell when the water covered or was raised above this island, and if there was a pipe factory on it at any time?

A little further up this road, in a map published 1829, the name "Cross-my-loof" is set down near Carron Bridge Inn. The "Cross-my-loof" near Glasgow is believed to have been said by Queen Mary when she was told she could not cross the Clyde, and she answered, "Cross my loof I will" ("By Cross in my hand I will.") (See Johnstone's "Place Names of Scotland.") I will be glad to know the furthest back date this Carron Bridge Cross-my-loof can be found, and if there is any story about it.

A little further west, on the present day Government survey maps, a name appears which looks as if it had been manufactured by the engraver. The name is to be found near Kirk of Muir, and is given to a house as "Boon of Kirk," which is given on 1829 maps as "Buna" (only), and on 1819 maps as "Buna Kirk," which has been thought meant "Above the kirk."—I am, yours, &c., J. S.

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#### THE LATE MISS C. MACLAGAN.

By the death of Miss Christian MacLagan, which took place at Ravenscroft, Stirling, on Friday evening, 10th May, a remarkable woman passed away. Her long life, extending to over ninety years, was in itself extraordinary, while the vigour of body and mind she displayed till nearly the end was surprising. She was gifted with a keen intellect and artistic tastes, qualities which occasionally developed into eccentricity, and marked her out as an exceptional woman in every way. Devoting special attention to the study of prehistoric remains in Scotland, Miss MacLagan published in 1875 a folio work on "The Hill

Forta, Stone Circles, and other Structural Remains of Ancient Scotland," in which the results were given of a very extensive series of researches. The author's views, however, have not found general acceptance in antiquarian circles. In 1881 Miss MacLagan printed for private circulation another work on kindred subjects, entitled "Chips from Old Stones," and a later volume appeared dealing with her favourite theory of ancient British forta. Merely local antiquities had little attraction for her, except in so far as they illustrated her own ideas and conclusions, and her contributions to the history of Stirling were few and unimportant. A paper read to the Natural History and Archæological Society treated of the fortresses and dwellings of the ancient peoples who inhabited the valleys of the Forth and Teith, and it showed clearly enough the author's inclination to see an ancient British fortress in nearly every hill, a theory the truth of which is disputed by many antiquaries. Miss MacLagan, however, had the credit of drawing attention to several ancient British works which had been overlooked by previous inquirers. In another direction she rendered valuable service to archæological research, both by her pen and pencil, for she was also an artist of no mean ability, though her feeling for colour was curiously defective, as her paintings showed. We refer to the rubbings from ancient sculptures, which gained for her a unique reputation. These rubbings, originally taken from sculptured stones, which Miss MacLagan spared no trouble or expense to search for, even in the remote Hebrides, were copied and touched up so exquisitely that they became real works of art which defied imitation. Exactly how this was done nobody else knew, and it is said that the artist offended a well-known antiquary by refusing to reveal her secret method of preparing the rubbings. The first exhibition of these wonderful rubbings in Stirling took place at a meeting of the Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society in February, 1883, the subjects being the sculptured stones and crosses of Ilay. The Secretary of the Society (Mr A. Moyes), in conveying the thanks of the members to Miss MacLagan for the interesting exhibit and accompanying notes, stated that they felt much gratified

to know that a fellow-member had carried out investigations in this particular line of antiquarian research with so much skill and success. A number of the rubbings were shown at the Glasgow Exhibition in 1888, and attracted much attention. In May of the following year, Miss MacLagan showed to the local Archaeological Society rubbings of sculptured stones in the east and west of Scotland, and some excellent notes by her were read at the same meeting by her relative, the late Miss Colvin. In moving a vote of thanks to Miss MacLagan, the Rev. Mr Robertson said that not only the Society but the country at large owed her a deep debt of gratitude for her labours in rescuing these beautiful memorials of the past from oblivion. In this branch of archaeology Miss MacLagan reigned supreme. At the Society's meeting in March, 1892, a series of magnificent rubbings from Ardochattan Priory by Miss MacLagan were exhibited, Mr R. Kidston reading her explanatory notes. In the present Glasgow Exhibition there are several rubbings by Miss MacLagan, who also sent a model of an ancient "broch," constructed by herself with marvellous skill. A year or two ago, Miss MacLagan gifted about three hundred of her famous rubbings to the British Museum, and it is supposed the reason why they were not sent to the Scottish Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh was because the Society of Antiquaries refused to alter their rules in order to admit a lady as an "Honorary Fellow" of the Society. Miss MacLagan was elected a Lady-Associate, but declined the honour, as it did not give her the right to sit at the table with the Fellows. She was the granddaughter of the Rev. Alexander MacLagan, minister of Little Dunkeld from 1722 to 1768.

Ed.

May, 1901.

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#### LOCAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, the Ancient Scotch Prophet, containing the Wonderful Fulfilment of many of his Predictions, and those not yet accomplished. Collected, Examined, and now Promulgated by Mr Allan Boyd, F.S.A., Sub-Deputy Janitor's Clerk in the College of Hayti.

With subjoined, an Account of the Battle of Bannockburn, so Fatal to Tyranny and Favourable to Scottish Independence and Impartiality. A Turkish Tale. Sold wholesale by J. Fraser & Co., Printers, Stirling.

Glasgow.

A. C.

Incidents and Anecdotes from the Pen of a Dundee Lawyer. By Archibald Paul, Solicitor, Dundee. First Edition. To be had of all the Booksellers in the counties of Forfar, Perth, and Stirling. 1870.

The above work, which extends to 157 pages, is made up of anecdotes and short pieces of verse—a number of the anecdotes relating to Stirling and Stirling people. The “Dedication,” which is dated October 1, 1870, runs as follows:—“This book is particularly dedicated to the people of the counties of Forfar, Perth, and Stirling; and generally to every one who will be pleased to read it.” The aim of the author evidently was to publish only such incidents and anecdotes as had not been in print before, and in the closing sentence he says:—“The most of it (the book) has been written during sickness, and I hope it will please all and offend none. I mean to continue the Anecdotes and Incidents which I have begun, and which will be more carefully compiled, in writing from time to time, instead of trusting them to memory, which may at times prove treacherous.” The bulk of the anecdotes refer to the doings of wig and gown, and not a few are told of Sheriff Logan, who was born at St Ninians. The opening article is a rhyming “Address delivered by Mr M’Kay, of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, while acting the character of Poor Peter Peebles, as patronised by the Faculty of Advocates,” but there is nothing to indicate that it is a production of Paul’s, and other verses in the book are written by Walter Crammond, Dundee.

Paul’s earlier years were spent in Stirling; his father was in the employment of the Misses Spiers of Laurelhill. The author of this volume, who was apprenticed to the law, in due time qualified as a solicitor, and practised for some years in Dundee.

Dundee.

W. H.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

DEAR SIR,—In last week's issue of your excellent paper, under the heading "Local Bibliography," a correspondent gives the title of a curious publication, evidently of the chap-book order, "Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, the ancient Scotch Prophet.—Sold wholesale by J. Fraser & Co., Printers, Stirling."

This is not exactly a new discovery. In your own invaluable "Local Notes and Queries," Stirling: 1883-86; 2 vols. (a work worth its weight in gold to any Stirling antiquary fortunate enough to possess the volumes), mention is made (unless memory plays me false) of a Falkirk publication which appears to be substantially the same production as that referred to by your correspondent "A. C." I quote the Falkirk title in full—"Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, the ancient Scotch Prophet, containing the wonderful fulfilment of many of his Predictions; and those not yet accomplished. Collected, Examined, and now Promulgated by Mr Allan Boyd, F.S.A., Sub-Deputy Janitor's Clerk in the College of Hayti. With subjoined, an Account of the Battle of Bannockburn so Fatal to Tyranny, and Favourable to Scottish Independence. Also, the Cottager's Saturday Night. Falkirk: Printed by T. Johnston."

There are a few discrepancies between the two titles, not all of them to the credit of the Stirling publisher. For example, after the word "Independence," he adds "and Impartiality"—a meaningless addition; and instead of printing "The Cottager's Saturday Night" (which, as you point out in "Local Notes and Queries," is merely Burns' "Cottar's Saturday Night," slightly abridged), he substitutes "A Turkish Tale."

Was Fraser the original publisher of this chap-book? I fancy not. He issued very few such works. Not more than three are quoted in your admirable list of Stirlingshire chap-books as being "Sold Wholesale by J. Fraser & Co., Printers, Stirling." Moreover, a Stirling printer or publisher instead of saying "subjoined with," would rather have put it, "to which are added." This appears to have been the general formula adopted on their titlepages by the two Randalls

and Macnie—the chief purveyors in Stirling of this kind of literature.

Could you, or your correspondent "A. C.," kindly oblige by affording a little more information about Fraser's publication? Johnston's chap-book runs to 24 pp. Does Fraser's equal or exceed that length? Is "Mr Allan Boyd" a real name, or an assumed one like "Sholto and Rueben Percy, Brothers of the Benedictine Monastery, Mont Benger," the authors of the "Percy Anecdotes?" The collocation, "F.S.A., Sub-Deputy Janitor's Clerk in the College of Hayti" is, to say the least, somewhat startling. What is the "Turkish Tale" given in Fraser's pamphlet? Is it a crib or an original production?—I am, &c.

W. S.

Stirling, May 20th, 1901.

#### PLACE-NAMES IN THE VALE OF MENTEITH.

The place-names of a district mark the footsteps of the people that have lived in it. Where we find that a considerable number of the place-names are derived from the Gaelic, we must conclude that a Gaelic-speaking race once lived there. Such names as Kincardine, Gartincaber, Ballingrew, Drummore, Cardona, Garnimpie, Ballindornock, Cessintully, Ballinton, Boquhapple, Skeoch, Braendam, Tarr, Ruskie, &c., show us that a Celtic population resided here, some six or seven hundred years ago.

We begin our place-names with the name of our parish—Kincardine, in *Menteith*, to distinguish it from Kincardine-on-Forth and Kincardine o' Neil. There are, also, the county of Kincardine; Kincardine Castle, near Auchtermarder, the ancient seat of the Grahams of Montrose; a Kincardine, near Boat of Garten, and other Kincardines elsewhere. Few place-names are solitary. The same names are found in various parts of Scotland, which helps us greatly to an understanding of them. The meaning suitable for one place must suit the others of the same name. Mr Macbain has derived Kincardine from *ceann*, "the head," and *carden*, a thicket, "the head of the thicket," a feature which might have at one time applied to

all the Kincardines. The kin cardden was probably near where the churchyard is; and the name of this spot was extended to the whole parish, just as the little village of Kincardine gave its name to the county.

Of place-names ending in *ton*, we have a large and interesting variety—Norrieston, Whirrieston, Munnieston, Macrieston, Macorriston, Murdieston, Spittalton, Mackeanston, Chalmerston, and an old place-name near Boghall, Baxterton. Probably most of these men, having touns here, like Spittal, the Queen's tailor, Nory, the King's Chamberlain, and the Royal Baker, whose toun was near Boghall, were familiar figures at the Court at Stirling. McAree, MacKane, Maccorane, Murdoch, Chalmers, &c., were doubtless very important men in their day, the favourites of their royal masters and mistresses, and well-known among the people.

*Whirriston* was at one time free to the Thornhill builders as a quarrying ground—"the quarry's town," and corrupted into Whirriston.

*Munnieston* (which is so like *Murray's town*) was Monachston, "the town of the monks"—the rent of this farm having been paid to the monks, most probably of Inchmahome; for, in 1587, a lease of the teinds of Gartincaber, Wester Spittaltoun, Murdochstoun, Ballintoun, McCorranestoun, was granted by Commendator Erskine, of Inchmahome, ancestor of the lairds of Cardross, to Michael Elphinstoun. In 1490, there was a lawsuit between the Priory and Haldane of Gleneagles, the husband of the heiress of Busky, about the teinds of the church of Kilmadock, in which parish Munnieston is. According to an old map of Perthshire, there is another Monks' town, Balmeanach, a holding near Ballagline, the name of which is now no longer known.

On the analogy of Norrieston, Nory's town; Spittaltown, Spittal's town; McCorrane's town, Murdoch's town, McAree's town, McKean's town, Chalmers' town, &c., we might expect *Ballinton* to be Ballan's town. There was a David Ballone who was Prior of Inchmahome in 1500, and, if Ballintón had been Bállinton, we might have said this was his town, or the town of some namesake of his—the accent, being on the *ton*, shows that this is the qualifying part of the word.

*Ton* means "the bottom," and Ballinton, "the farm or town at the bottom," a designation exactly suiting our Ballinton and that of Aberfoyle.

The fine old beeches around Ballinton proclaim its former dignity among the towns of our neighbourhood. The ancient Barony of Ruskie was divided between two heiresses—Agnes, who was married to John Haldane of Gleneagles, receiving Lanrick and the northern portion of the barony, and Elizabeth, who was married to John Napier of Merchiston. The Napiers were lairds of King's Boquhapple. Francis Lord Napier thought of fixing the family seat at Ballinton. He resided in the meantime at Craighead, improving his estate by fences and planting trees. The old house at Ballinton was pulled down, and he found, when too late, that he was not able to build a better. He gradually sold off all his land piecemeal as he could get a purchaser, and the trees and the Thornhill Piper are almost our only relics of this "town at the bottom."

*Bal* at the beginning has the same meaning as *ton* at the end of place-names. The *baile* was usually let to three tenants—the *trean* (c.f. the Trean of Leny, near Callander) was a third of the rent rather than a third of the extent. This custom of letting to three tenants has given us a common class of place-names—*Easter* and *wester*, and *middle* thirds; *over* or *upper* and *ever* or *nether*. We have *Wester Boquhapple*, and *Middleton*, which was formerly *Middlethirds* of Boquhapple. *Wester Thirds*, a holding near Gartmore, may occur to you in this connection, or the three Borlands. Of *Bals*, we have *Ballingrew*, *Balmuir*, *Ballabeg*, *Balville*, *Balanuater*, &c. *Balville*, handed down by the name of the burn, seems to have been near Hammersmith. The word *Balville* may be "the town of the pass," *baile bhealaich*; or "the town at the brae-top," *baile a bhile*, which, however, will hardly answer in this case.

*Ballabeg* was a holding now incorporated in the Tarr farm, and the Union—the *Ballabeg* field of the Union and the *Ballabeg Loan* hand down the name of this farm, which is marked in an old map in my possession and referred to in a lease of date 1780, granted by John Wordie of Lanrick to the

M'Queens, late in the Tarr. It means "the little town."

*Balmuir* of Ochertyre was a farm till within recent years. It was occupied by a W. Robb in 1832, and before that by Drummonds, who came from it to Brae of Boquhapple in our more immediate neighbourhood. It means "the Muirtown."

*Ballingrew*—we have two farms so named. There is an *Alichengrew* in Muthill, which seems to be "the place for keeping cheese." *Tomnagrew* would on this supposition be "the cheese height," or "the cheese knowe" (in Monzie and Little Dunkeld). So, I suppose, *Ballingrew* is *baile an grath* (*th* is silent in Gaelic), "the town paying its rent in cheese," "the cheese or curds farm."

It was a custom to pay rent by giving the owner a portion of the produce of the land—grain from arable lands and stock from pasture lands. "Cain hens" is a phrase the farmer is not yet ignorant of. Certain farms on the estate were known as *Borlands*, whose lands furnished the laird's table—"the mensal farm," or "the home farm." They were Board-lands or Brodlands. There was one such farm on the Blair Drummond property, indicated by the *Borland Hill*. This farm was occupied by a family of the name of Bryce, one of whom kept a mortcloth of his own in defiance of the Kirk Session of Kincardine. The Rev. Alex. Bryce, a geometrician, surveyor, and antiquary of some note in his day, was born here in 1713.

The Wester, Mid, and Easter *Borlands* of Ruskie would be called upon to supply whatever was needed by Sir John Menteith and his household. The Broadallton of Ruskie was the inn, bordel, or boarding house. It is now no more.

*Ballagline* means "the town in the glen." It formerly belonged to "the Pin Wrights," whose ancestor, tradition says, removed the pin of the bridge at the battle of Stirling.

*Ballanucater* is, I should say, "the upper town, the top town," *baile an uachdar*. This *ucater* part of the word is the same as *auchter* or *ochter* in Auchterarder, for instance, or Ochertyre. A good authority in Gaelic explained *Ballanucater* as "the walker or fuller's town."

*Hillhead* is a most appropriate name, but I should much prefer the old 1560 *Balnadornock*, or

the recent Ballindornock of my old map, "the town of the Dornock," and Dornock is "the knoll or height near the water." The *Dornock* dam will keep alive this ancient name. Why or when Ballindornock became Hillhead, I cannot say.

One of the most kenspeckle features of our district is the Moss of *Flanders*. There was a close connection in early times between Holland and this country. The inhabitants of Flanders settled pretty largely in Scotland. There is a *Flinders*, originally Flanders, in Dunblane, and in Kennethmont, Aberdeenshire, a Flinder, which, in 1367, was "Flandris." This name *Flanders* originated with these Fleming colonists. A charter conveying land to one of the Aberdeenshire lairds is addressed to "Franks and Angles, Flemings and Scots," and a charter of a later date, 1367, refers to the Flemings in this district of Aberdeenshire.

Flanders means "flooded ground," and to these foreign settlers we owe our name, *Polder*, meaning "land reclaimed from the sea," or rather, as here, from the water. "Easter and Wester Poldoir" and "Waird of Guddy" were Church-lands in 1562, and therents went to the Priory of Inchmahome.

*Ward*, we have three of them—Ward of Goodie, *Littleward*, and "the Ward" at Blair Drummond. Now, if this name owes its origin to the Dutch settlers of ancient days, it means ground insulated by natural marches and secured by dykes, "Werder;" but, if it owes its origin to a later period, it may mean a small enclosure or plot of ground usually appropriated to young animals, e.g., *Calfward*, the *Weards* or *Weardies*, common as field-names. G, y, and w interchange, so that ward, guard, and yard are one word. The *Ward* of Goodie might have been an old prison connected with Inchmahome Priory; or some enclosed piece of pasture, for the safe keeping of the colts or calves of the monks or of their tenants, might have suggested the name. It is possible, too, that Ward may come from a certain feudal casualty. There is still another derivation possible—from the *guarding* of the Fords of the Forth and Goody in times of war. Thus, in 1689, a grant from the national exchequer to Archibald Napier of Boquhapple and James Stewart of Ardvoirlich to raise three hundred men to guard the Fords of Forth above Stirling, and "ane halfe

barrell of powder" was to be delivered to them from Stirling Castle to secure these passages "conforme to the Commission from the estates."\*

Near the side of the road that crosses the moss from Wester Tarr to Blair Cessnock, two swords were found; and in the immediate neighbourhood is *Tomnafallock*, "the height of bloodshed," where a sanguinary fight between the Drummonds and the Menteiths took place, to avenge the slaughter of Drummond of Boquhapple in 1330.

*Tarr* or *Tor* means "knoll or height." *Pollabey*, an old holding near Wester Tarr, is "the pool or the pow by the way"—*pol an bhaigh*, or "the pool of the birches," *pol na bheithe*.

We have "the black poo" in *Powblack* and *Blackdub*, *Boghall*, and more *Moss-sides* than we can mention, reminding us of our proximity to the soft moss lands, so characteristic of this part of the banks of the Forth.

It would be precarious to suggest a meaning for *Rednock*—the old tower of which is in the Tower Park. Part of the policies was known as Bogton, locally Bowton. In an account belonging to John Mackieson, millar at Balvill, under date 1732, is an entry, "Dugald Grahame in Bogton." The Rednock grounds partly include the ancient *Unshinock*. In the Exchequer Rolls, 1492-1500, this place is designated "quinque marcate de Rednauch vocate le Wynschenauch," and in Hutchison's "Lake of Menteith," p. 61, "the £3 6s 8d lands of Rednock, otherwise called Inchannach." Uinnseannach means "the place of the ashes," a tree still enhancing the beauty of this spot, although the name, now more appropriate than ever, is all but forgotten.

*Rusky* means "rough ground." In the days of its prime, it formed a barony, with the Baron's Castle on an island in the loch. It was here that Sir John Stewart lived, better known as Sir John Menteith, the betrayer of Wallace. Loch Rusky is 444 feet above sea level, ten feet higher than its neighbour, the *Dhu Loch*, or "black loch." In this district is *Bruachour* (*bruach odher*), "the dun brae." Lenniston (*liena*), "meadows-town;" or, probably, like *Leechtown*, a proper name, "Lennie's town." *Leichtown* was the town which

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\* Acts of Scottish Parliament, vol. ix. p. 92.

James V. gave to John Leitch. *Blairhoyle*, its ancient name, is an adaptation of *Blarachoyle*, the former name of the present Newton. Mr Brodie, a former proprietor, changed the old name for an older. *Blacklands* was where the villa near Blairhoyle now stands, and *Bigrin* was on the south side of the road. The *Earn* is, probably, *earrann*, a portion, appearing in Arnprior, Arngibbon, Arnvicar, Arngomery, &c., in the next parish.

The *Union* is made up of the union of bits of farms—the *Stock*, “streak,” was one of them. *Cassafuir* is *cas*, foot, and *feur*, cold, “the cold hill foot”; but Mr MacBain has pointed out that *four* in place-names is Pictish, and must be derived from *pur*, corresponding to the Welsh *pawr*, pasture—so “the foot of the pasture grounds.”

Formerly there was a place called *Oatlands*—the steading was about 120 yards south-west of Rednock Mill, and is now part of *Newton*.

*Rhinachlach* is a name at least as old as 1832. The more popular name was *Whistlebare*, which is now obsolete.

*Tomachar*—*tom* and *car*, “height on the way,” was demolished in recent years. It was called *New Grahamston*.

I am not aware that *Hammersmith* is anything but a fancy modern name. *Arthur's field*, *Laren's field*, *Morrison's Croft*, &c., suggest personal names. *Dunaverig* is said to be “the height of rust,” or “rusty fort.”

The Mill of Rusky gave the name *Damside*, which has now been converted into *Burnside*, and either this mill, or that of Cessintully, being larger, has given us our *Little Mill*. To the dam of Little Mill we trace *Breandam* or *Braendamm*, “the brae of the dam.”

The *Auchyle* we are acquainted with took its name from an older place of the same name near Breavall. The *Grahams* “of Deuchray and Auchyle” was the style of the proprietors, and when one of them sold the *Wester Auchyle* he preserved the name.

*Calziemuck* is “the swine's wood,” or Hogwood, near by.

*Keirs* are old forts or camps. We have several—*Keirhead* at Ruskie, the *Keirs* at Mid Borland

and Auchensalt, and formerly a *Kierhaugh* in Ochertyre, now almost unknown. There is another Keir marked in the O.S. map at Brae of Boquhapple. We have a very ancient fort in our district, if *Cardona* is not a modern fancy name. It means *cathair diona*, "the fort of protection." *Carbaglan* is a height (422 ft.) to the north of Whirriston. It belongs to the Gartincaber family, the last Murdoch laird of which was familiarly called "Auld Carbaglan." It probably means "the fort of the mire," or "the boggy fort, *kathair* and *boglain*."

The *Goukstane* is a well-known spot in this neighbourhood. It is a common name throughout Scotland, and implies a time when there were no trees near, otherwise the cuckoo would not show special favour for any particular stone. If it had trees or bushes it would hardly perch twice on the same height. A stone pillar with nothing else near to perch on would bring the bird there year by year, and so the name; but it must be remarked that the gouk-stone is now no longer a pillar. There is a Goukstone, or Goukstane, in the parish of the Port.

Hawks were used by the sportsmen instead of gun, powder, and lead. Hawk is, in Scotch, the gled, hence the *Gledeshouse*, near Gartincaber.

I cannot tell why one of Mr Rutherford's fields should be called the *Vantage*, or *Vantages*. *Corsehill*, or *Crosshill*, for there is authority for both, may be derived from some pillar-stone that stood near the Chapel of the Walton, one of the six churches in the parish of Kilmadock; or from the cross-roads here. Cross = crossing. There are many *Corsehills* in Scotland, mostly applying to the crossing of roads. We have a *Correbrydie* between Braendarn and Callander.

Near Murdieston was a place called *Carpenter's Ha'*, where a joiner plied his trade in 1814.

*Cessintully* — *Seakentully*, 1305; *Circentully*, 1476; *Cercentully*, 1479 — modern spelling is probably correct. *Tully* is one of the commonest words in the place names of our country. It means a knowe, a height, a hill. *Casan tuiloch* is "the path of the knowe, the way across the hill," referring to the old road between the fords of Forth at Frew, and that of the Teith at Lanrick Castle.

The road from Thornhill to Doune was impassable for a wheeled conveyance. The late Mr Murray, Munnieston, told that when he was a youth provisions could be carried from Doune only on horseback. This state of matters accounts for *Causewayend*.

The *Sauchans* is the saughs or willows.

*Deanston* was formerly *Sauchentum*.

*Lochfield*, so called from its being near the Loch o' Watton, is an old name. In a document of 1492, Lochfield, Banks, Calquhollet, the two Colletis, and Spittaltowns are mentioned. Near Lochfield was a place called *Dalquharry*, now, I am told, marked by an elm-tree and a well, and, I suppose, the proximity of a quarry furnished it with this name.

*Gartincaber* is "the enclosure of poles or specks." What the tower was erected for is unknown, and I am not quite certain that the hill it was built on was not formerly known as *Dunrobin*.

*Drummors* is *drum more*, "the big ridge."

*Greenburn* now absorbs *Plotahole*, an old place name here; "Ponthall" of old map.

*Meadowhead* is quite clear, and the *Bogle Brig*, being an eerie place, has been well named.

The bridge near the mill of Cessintully is *Blair's Bridge*.

There is a field of Murdieston known as *Drumwalton* or *Drummilltown*, "the Walton or Milltown ridge."

On the farm of Mill of Cessintully (erected on what was the "Four Brae") are three fields known as the "Walton." One is the *Downer Glen* (lower); the *Pony Park* is east of the house; the *Damside* park is near the third of the dams that supply water power to this mill; the *Mill* park is west of the house; the *Mance* park, the *Mill of Goody* park, and the *Wee Park* constitute this farm at the present day.

In traversing the road between the fords of Frew and Teith, you pass *Garnimpie* (not Garnumpie), *gardh impaidh*, "the enclosure at the turn," a correct designation. The farmer of Whirriston's grandfather, one of the two birlaymen of the district, lived at a place called *Drumnahinney*, old map, "Drumnakolinnie," now part of Whirriston. *Balkinny*, in Rhynie, means Kenneth's

farm, *baile choimich*; and Drumnahinny may mean "the ridge belonging to Kenneth."

Near Braendam we have *Craigfranky* or "Craig-frank," Francis' *craig*. *Gourlayston* is from a personal name. In 1800, Archibald Gourlay paid the parochial rates of this place. The *Lug* was an old holding, meaning "the hollow." There is one between Ashentree and Coldoch, besides our Thornhill Lugs (c.f., bugs for bogs). The Skeoch or Upper Curling Pond at Thornhill was formerly known as a Lug. The Braendam *Garfad* is *garadh*, "long park." *Clashhead*, *Hillhead*, and *Burnside* are marked in the old map as being near this.

The Muir cottage and *Muirdam* are clear enough.

*Auchensalt*, it has been suggested, is *auchdh-an-sealg*, "hunting field" (c.f., Drumshalt, Fife-shire).

*Ballochnock* ("pass with the water."—Rev J. B. Johnston).

*Torry* is *torran*, "little heaps,"

The Brae of Boquhapple is described in a document of 1523 as "the twenty-five shilling land of the Brae of Buchoppil." Brae is from Gaelic—*bruach*. There is a farm *Bruach* marked near the Castle of Rednock.

*Broich* is *bruach*, "a bank." Arngomery was formerly called the "Broich of Kippen."

*Daldorn* is *dail dobhraim*, "the otter's date."

*Lanrick* means "the clearing in a forest." There were, in 1830, two or three "Lanarkins." There was a chapel here, and the churchyard is now surrounded with old yews.

The *Macgregor* monument was erected more than a hundred years ago to perpetuate the name and fame of the family to which *Castle Gregor*, as *Lanrick Castle* was then called, belonged.

The *Dillot* is *diollaid*, "a saddle;" a name frequently applied to a hill supposed to resemble a saddle, or to a ridge connecting two hills.

Crossing over from Broich to Munnieson, you come through *Oglegarth*, which seems to be *abhall garadh*, "the orchard or apple yard." It is only a small part of the hill above Mr Arnot's cottage to which this fine name was applied, although lately it is applied more widely.

*Boquhapple* owes its name to the chapel—"the

bothy of the chapel," *both chapel*. It must have suggested to Sir Walter Scott his laird of Balma-whapple. "The 20 merk land of Boquhapple" was held of the King, hence known as King's Boquhapple in contradistinction to the church Boquhapple. (Compare King's Lundies and Dean's Lundies in Kilmadock.) This estate came into the Napier possessions by marriage. In 1616, Robert Napier of Culcreuch is called of Boquhapple—"Easter" Boquhapple. His son, Archibald, about 1680, began to grant feus in Thornhill, deeming houses a better ornament than thorns. His brother, William, with Pearson of Kippenroos, Paul Dog of Ballingrew, Linton of Pittendreich, were fallen upon by the Camerons and slain in 1685—the Camerons, Lochiel's men, thinking them enemies. Blair Drummond bought Boquhapple in 1704. *Mains of Boquhapple* indicates where Napier's mansion house stood. By the freak of a painter employed to make signs for Mr. Forrester's carts, a most appropriate name has been all but introduced, viz., "Mains of Thornhill."

The *Rottenrow*, near Mains of Boquhapple, is now an almost unknown name. It is a very common place-name. There is one in London, in Shrewsbury, in York, in Glasgow, in Arbroath, and in Aberdeen. It occurs in Forfar, Fife, Dumfries, and Roxburgh shires. Mr Hew Morrison, Edinburgh Free Library, makes it out as "the road to the fort," *rathad an rath*—the fort being at Auchensalt, if he be correct. Cosmo Innes gave it an ecclesiastical meaning, "the routine row," people going to church, the chapel of Boquhapple being in close proximity. Rotten ice is ice that yields below the feet. Milton uses the word, "bridges laid over bogs and rotten moors." Rotten is part of a lost verb, and has nothing to do with *rot*. So the rotten row would be "the marshy, shaky row or road. Balfouris-Bochquhoppil, *alias* Rattanraw, *alias* Eastfield of Wester Boquhapple are alternative names of this place from an old charter.

*Netherton* is the lower town, but why, I am unable to say.

In one of the fields belonging to the farm of Middleton there is a spring known as the *Tippertie-nine* well, and the field was the *Tippertie-nine* field. This may be *tobhair neighichan*, the washing

well, where they went with their clothes in time of need, or?—*naoidhan*, babies' well.

That small field rented by Mr James Dow, situated between the burn and Macrieston, is known as the *Bleacher's Acre*. The women would wash their clothes in the burn near the bridge, and complete the operation on the grass of this field.

The *Dyster's Well* was so called because a dyer lived here at one time.

The *Tannery* was built for tanning purposes. This industry was largely carried on in Thornhill. Pits are found in Mr Sand's garden, and in recent times, James Stewart, "the tanner," indicating a vanished industry.

The *Palace* owes its existence to the *King Smith*, who lived and laboured there.

The *Dog Street* (dug) was probably so called from some old Dog (now Doig) who lived near this.

The *Hill*, so called because it is the highest part of the village.

The *Laightown*, or Lowtown, because it is below the Hill, an older part of the village.

The *Back Yett* is the back way.

Many of the houses in Thornhill have modern names not worth mentioning; but *Slateha'*, our present Post Office, was so called because it was the first slated house in the village. Even the Church was heather thatched, and a story is told that a soldier passing fired his gun at it and burned the roof. What is now the Commercial Hotel was in olden times the "*East Port Inn*." The house on the north side of the road, near the churchyard gate, was formerly known as *Knowe-head*. The knowehead is now the churchyard. This height is marked *Drumgile* in an old plan.

The *Skeoch*, north of Thornhill, is one of the commonest elements in place-names. It means *thorn*, and may account for the village being Thornhill.

The *Masons' Hall* is 147 feet above sea level, the Commercial Hotel is 122 feet, and all round on the southern side is the hundred feet Terrace, which geology has yet to account for. The most characteristic feature of Thornhill is the multitude of its wells, no fewer than 12 on the north side, and some 18 or 20 on the south side of the street.

The field to the east of the Free Church, part of which is on either side of the road, was called the *Beartrees*.

*Burnhead* "of Macrieston" may be a fancy name; but not so the *Toll* on the other side of the road. There was nothing fancy about it.

*Drip*, it has been conjectured, comes from an old A.S. word signifying "to leap," and, if so, the word implies one of the ways of crossing a stream. The bridge there owes its existence to Lord Kames. In 1472, *Drip* belonged to George, Earl of Huntly, and was sold to Lord Fleming, "*Drippia*, *Bad*, *Cambusdrany*, and *Westwood*." *Bad* means "a clump"; *Cambusdrenny*—*Cambus*, "a bend," and *droigneach*, "brambly," so called from the bramble bushes growing in this bend of the river.

*Cowden*, *Coldon*, *Calton*, &c., is exceedingly common. (We have one in *Port*, and another near *Buchlyvia*.) It means "the hazel knove."

*Carrat* is *Caradh*—"standing or pillar stone."

The lanes—*Nailer's Lane*, *Westwood Lane*, *Robertson's Lane*, *Roesburn Lane*, *Sommer's Lane*, *Kirkwood Lane*, *Burnbank Lane*, and *Woodland Lane*, require no explanation.

*Ross* means a "promontory," referring to the crooks of the *Forth*. There were an *Easter* and a *Wester Ross* here.

*Nyadd*.—We have it on the authority of the *Ochertyre MSS.* that "the little hill called the *Naad* was surrounded by the moss" before 1660. The road here is 36 feet high, and the rock or hill 24 feet above it.

Does *Arnieve* mean the height of poison, because the rare plant (whose berries are poisonous), *Solanum Dulcamara*, the woody nightshade, grows abundantly here, and, so far as we know, nowhere else in the district? *Nimh*—poison; *mh*=v. Or is it "the saint's portion," *naomh*, the rents going to the saint's altar.

In the 1649 *Rental*, there is a name now almost unknown. "The laird of Bonhard for *Tolgarth Myle*, part of *Burnbank* and *Rosa*." Bonhard is in *Scone*, near *Perth*, and probably one of the *Muchets* was at this time laird or lady of it. The *Mill of Kincardine* was not far from the manse. It was called the "*Mill o' Muck*" in former days, implying a certain amount of carelessness, and it is believed that this mill was formerly

known as the Tolgarth Mill. The mill lead is still there, and "the miller's trees." Tolgarth is "the hole in the field." But where was the Mill of Burnbank, referred to in the same document?

In addition to the manse, the smithy, the saw-mill, the church, school, and schoolhouse, we have an old public-house on the old Stirling road, and the ruins of the church and churchyard, with its vaults, in this portion of our parish.

Entering the Blair Drummond policies, we have the obelisk of Lord Kames, the sandhill, the pond, &c., before we come to the house. The ordnance survey map has marked a *tumulus* near this, and a *Gallow Hill* where criminals were "justified."

According to the 1649 Rental, "Lord Drummond for Boirlands, Castrie, Daira, Torrey, and Mylns of Torry (Torr?)," most of which are properties or farms included in the Blair Drummond policies. The parks of Blair Drummond, according to a sale bill, are as follows:—The Blair Drummond Park, Valley of Coustry, South Hills of Coustry, Boreland Hill, Park below Laryx Bank, Farm Park, Aqueduct Possession, Bridgend or Coblehaugh, Low Daira, Boreland Muir, Toll Park, Loch Park, Witch Tree, Acres Park, Damlea Park (south of piece of water), and the parks of Bankhead, Garden Park, Front Park, School Park, Jenny Thomson, and Wood Park.

Coustry means "strife" (*comhstrie*).

Corn was cuttled when the crops were carried from low lying ground to some height or exposed station to hasten the winning, and to allow the cattle to feed over the stubble. This has given us a pretty frequent place-name—"Cuthill." The Kincardine "Cuthill" was for sometime the residence of a branch of the Muschet family. A knoll near the Church marks the place and preserves the name.

Blair Drummond is the former estate name of the Drummond family, and the family name. They came from Blair in Stormont in 1682, and lived at Chalmerston till the old house was built in 1715. It was taken down in 1870. The fine trees, beautifying Blair Drummond so much, were planted about 1730 by James, the second laird. Most of their lands was bought from the neighbouring proprietors; Burnbank, in 1752.

What the Low and High *Deira* (fields in Blair Drummond grounds) may mean, it is hard to say.

*Meldrum* is "the bare ridge"—*maol drum*.

*Bankhead* is "characteristic and clear"—*c.f. Craighead*.

*Briarlands* is either "the briar lands" or "the lands that belonged to some religious order"—the brathair, "monks' lands"—th silent.

*Torr* means "a heap, hillock, height."

*Ochertyre*, "the higher ground," in contradistinction to the lower lying moss lands.

*Staniegates*, within the policies, is "the stony ways."

*Scribtree*, between Ochertyre and Mill of Torr. Is it a corruption of Crabtree?

*Broadford* is on Teith, so is *Meadowfield*.

*Torr Inch* was formerly part of Kilmadock parish.

*Coldoch* is *cul dabhach*, "the back of the ploughed land."

The Broch of Coldoch, a ground plan and description of which was furnished to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr Ballingall, deserves mention in passing.

*Ashentree* seems to have been a comparatively modern name, as I remember two or three large ashes cut down some dozen years ago, and these trees would be of some size before such a name was chosen.

Mains of Burnbank consists of three holdings, *Burnbank*, the *Hole*, near the trees, north side of road, and the *Knowes*.

*Drumhugle*, marked by a fine well, was once a farm on the Gartincaber estate, and tradition has it that the well was the cause of a dispute between the two proprietors. Is it *Drum sug hail*, "the moist, sappy ridge?"

*Ramoth*. Whether Highland or Hebrew we know not, although we are assured it is an old place-name.

*Powblack* is "the black pool." It is 38 feet above sea level here.

*Goodiebank*, or land near it, was known as the "*Trews*."

Mill of Goodie was another of the mills in this district.

*Myme*, or "the Myme?"

*Frew* (*freoch*) means "heather," telling us how this fertile soil was at one time covered with moss and surmounted by heaths.

The word *Goodie* is allied to the Welsh "guy," and Cornish "gy"; hence the Wye in England, "the smoothly flowing stream." In old times what we know as the Loch of Port or Lake of Mentelth was the *Loch of Goodie*, and the stream was the *Stank of Goodie*.

The *Brig o' Frew* derives its name from the bridge there, which dates 1783.

Drip Bridge was built in 1770, and Meiklewood Bridge in 1831. The Netherton Bridge tells its own tale.

*Offers*—"Offerance" in Kippen. There was an old bridge and an older ford west of Offers, but the Meiklewood Bridge has superseded them. Is this a fancy name given it by some classic-loving laird of Blair Drummond or Ochertyre, from the female deities that presided over springs and streams in Greek and Roman mythology? Naiad would readily become Nyad in everybody's mouth.

"The *Netherton*" is chiefly made up of feuars' acres and a number of small holdings. One of the fields is known as the "Netherton of Moss-side," another is the "Three Neukit Lea," and a third rejoices in the curious designation, "*Dal-whilpert*." There was once a house at this place, and the road from it to the village may yet be traced.

The "cross gait" acres, near Thornhill, means the cross roads, *c.f.* Corse-brydie, on the old road crossing the hill to Callander. In an old map "the Coterle" is marked near Mains of Boquhapple, and the loan leading to it was known as Atholl's loan. Near this was *Greenhead*, where there was a smithy in former years. The line of decayed houses opposite the present smithy is called the Shuttle Street in the O.S. map.

The farm of *Karland*, a separate property belonging to a family of the name of Smith at the beginning of the century, seems to be "the early land," as when we say, "we're to hae an ear season," that's a bit o' ear grun'."

Near Thornhill, almost each house of which was formerly enlivened with the sound of the loom, we should expect a wool mill. It stood

below Mill of Cassintully, the water-run will show the exact spot.

In the south-east corner of the Thornhill Upper Common is a spot known as Muschet's grave. Some seventy years ago a sheriff officer of this name visited Thornhill at a time when cholera was raging there. He caught the infection, died, and was buried at this lonely spot, lest, being buried in the churchyard, others might be infected when the grave was re-opened. *Cf.* the grave in the garden at Burnbank.

Three hundred years ago the most popular spot in the parish of Kincardine was a healing well—“*Chrystie Well*.” It is referred to in the books of surrounding Presbyteries, and was a grievous trouble to the Church. People resorted to it from far and near on one of the Sundays of May. Nine men and women from Bothkennar and Airth came to be healed of their diseases one day. A woman went for “sairness” in her side. She “passit about the well, washed her side, drank, and left a sowein threid.” Another with “a seik hert and hed cuist the water owir her schuldur, drank, and left a peice of sillder.” One took her bairn who had “sore ein.” She “alledge that the bairn saw or she came home.” &c., &c. Some account of this famous well, “Bewast Teath from Menstrie, not far from Ochtertyre, and in the parish of Kincardine in Menteith,” is given by the Rev. R. Menzies-Fergusson in his “*Life of Hume*.” And a Fintry Kirk Session minute shows, 1642, that animals were cured by it. Where was it? Where is it? Does Colonel Drummond and his household now enjoy all its virtues? Amid all our ill pity is that we have lost sight of it.

#### FIELD NAMES.

In old days there existed in our country a remnant of ancient paganism in leaving uncultivated a piece of ground which was specially given over to propitiate “the prince of the power of the air.” He was spoken of in complimentary terms, being called the “Goodman.” About the middle of the seventeenth century, Presbyteries had not a little trouble in compelling farmers to till these “devil’s bits,” or auld man’s crofts, for superstition dies hard. Was this the origin of the Hillhead field name, the *Guidins*, the

good ane's, that portion of the farm allotted by the "senselessly civil" tenant to the bad one? The other fields of Hillhead are *Tapalatta* (? lathach, a puddle, meaning the field "above the puddle")—(is there not a similar name within the burgh of Ddune?) *Back o' Loch*, with clear evidences of a loch in bye-gone days; *Back o' the byres*, *Easter* and *Wester* parks, the *Fore Bras* (one of the commonest of field names in this district), the *Dornock Hill* and the *Toll* park.

The dwelling house of Boghall farm was formerly near two or three large old trees in the field north of the Stirling road, where there was a small loch; this field is known as *Loch Leech*, probably because leeches were abundant there. Other fields of Boghall are the *West*, *Mid*, and *East Hills*, the *Walton*, *Stackyard* and *Well* parks, and the *Rounill* (round hill). There is another Rounill field at Wester Borland, Lochfield, &c.

Cardona contains the *Barn* park, the Upper and Lower *Meadowhead* parks, the *seven acres*, the *East* and *West Gowanhill*, the *Well*, the *Greenburn*, and the *Glen* parks. In the last of these there is a huge boulder of conglomerate from the Port of Menteith or Aberfoyle. It is 10 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 6 feet high, according to measurement made for the late David Milne Home, Esq.

The Lochfield fields are the *Barnyard*, *House*, and *Gartincaber* parks, the *Drumshugall Haugh*, *Balquharrie*, in which remains of a house can still be traced, *Rounill*, where an ancient crock or urn was found some years ago, the *Sluice* park, the *Easter* and *Wester Lochhill* parks, and the *Red-house* park. The *Langrigs* (523 yards long), the *Bogle Brig* park, and two others belonging to the Gartincaber policies.

The Gartincaber Spittalton fields are the *House*, the N. and S. *Horsepond* parks, the *Quarry* park, the *Wester*, *Easter*, and *Crow Hills*, and the *West* and *East Drumshugall*.

At the Blair Drummond Spittalton, we have *Graham's* park, the *Nursery*, *Fore Brae*, *Back Brae*, the *Bog* and *Corsehill*, the *Quarry*, the *Hill* and *House* parks.

The Coldoch Spittalton, among others, furnishes the *Sicht Hill*, the *Cauld Well*, the *Bog*, *Horse* and *Dam* parks. The *Vantage* on Lord Moray's

Spittalton has been already mentioned. There is also a *Highlandman* park here.

The Ashentrees give us the *Lang-rigs*, the *Clay-rigs*, the *Fore* park, the *Lug*, the *Back* park, and the *Fairy Knowe* park. From this we infer that the old name of the Broch of Coldoch was the *Fairy Knowe*. Fairies were believed to live within hillocks or rounills such as the broch was before the late Miss MacLagan, Stirling, discovered its connection with the human race.

The feu between the Mill of Cessintully and "the Piper," held fifty years ago by a M'Farlane, is known as *Patmos*. It is not an island, and we have heard of no saint banished to it, accounting for this Scriptural appellation.

*Hosie's Lynn* was below the Bridge of Goodie, where there was a dwelling, and 300 yards further east is "Auld Balaclava," a tree which fell across the stream, perhaps in the autumn of 1854, and was used as a bridge. A widening at its entrance into the Goodie of the pow or trough, used in carrying away the peaty soil, accounts for one of the Goodiebanks fields being called the *Gulf*.

By the courtesy of Mr Paterson, Burnbank, we can state that nothing in the shape of broom furnished Stock o' Broom with its name. About 1807, it was called *Mid Frew*, and the adjoining farm of *Bridge of Goodie* was added to it about 1835. *Stock o' Broom* was then given to the enlarged farm to prevent confusion, as there were some four farms known as Mid or Middle Frew. Forty years ago, the farm now occupied by Mr Inglis was known as Middle Frew, and the farmer was familiarly called "Middlie." The farm occupied by Mr M'Culloch was Mid Frew. Mr Arnott's farm of *Easter Frew* comprises two farms, both known as Easter Frew, and distinguished in ordinary conversation as easter Easter Frew and Wester Easter Frew—the farmer of the former was known as "Easterton."

Murdieston now includes Easter and Wester Murdieston. Both farmers were of the same name, but were distinguished as "Easterton" and "Westerton"—in Aberdeenshire they would have been Eastie and Westie.

The fields on the Middle Frew part of Stock o' Broom were the *Weetlands*, *Cowlands*, *Pondfield*, *Dykeback*, *Rieskfield*, *Blacklands*, *Longshot* (Long-

shot means a long plot of ground, c.f., Clayshot, &c.), *Cross William*, and *The Acres*.

*Southfield* was made up of two holdings, *Butterneuk* and *Southfield*. Mr Paterson's great-grandfather held them from 1750. The present *Southfield* was the site of the *Butterneuk* houses, and the former *Southfield* is marked by what is known as "the auld hooses."

The fields of *Burnbank* are the *Bottom*, *Orchard*, and *Knoves* parks, the *Quarrel Ha'*, the *Quarry*, *Easter*, *Mid*, and *Wester Bohill*, the *Ramoth* park, and the *Mid Acres*.

*Ballingrew* has a *Laigh*, a *Needless*, the *Wee* and *Loan* or *House Parks*, the *North* and *South Crofts*, the *Planlin' Park*, and the *Easter* and *Wester Above-the-Roads*.

The *Butts*, "a small piece of ground disjoined in any way from adjacent land" (Eng: Dial: Dict.), gives a name to one of the *Carse* of *Maccorieston* fields; where there are, also, the *Bruntlands*, *Turn o'Neuk*, the *Fit o' Meadow*, the two *Far-awas* and the *Haggles*. This pretty common place name, *Far-away*, may be a corruption of *feith ruighe*, "the marshy burn of the slope," a meaning given by the late Mr Macdonald to the *Aberdeenshire Ferrowie*. The *Haggles* may be rough, uneven and difficult to work, *haggle* being a common enough Scotch word.

At *Ballinton*, *Craignolt*, *craig an uillt*, the rock of the burn, the rock being in the bed of the stream that flows through the field; *Garner's Carse*, now part of *Craignolt*, *Sandy Hole*, *Andrew's park*, the *Birks*, the *Lowden park*, the *Prison*, and the *Fir Walk*. *Lowden* and *Andrew* may be accounted for as being derived from the surnames of former tenants, but why one of the fields should be known as the prison cannot be explained. Does it date from the times in which the *Napiers* exercised judicial authority in the district?

There is a field in *Wester Frew* known as the *Branded Knowe*. *Branded* is the Scotch form of *brindled*, black and red mixed.

Some one from the foot of *Ben Ledi*, residing at *Polder*, may have given the name, *Corriechromie*, to one of Mr *Montgomery's* fields. We need not look for a corrie in this flattest of flat districts.

On the farm of *Mid Borland* are the *Breakbacks*

(breac, spotted, and bank, a ridge left unploughed between cultivated fields, or a field that broke the shearers' backs in harvest), the *Branton*, a holding consumed by fire, or a borrowed name, the *Langrags*, and the *Muckle Brae*.

The Brae Cessintully fields are the *Steps* park, explained by the stepping stones over the stream that flows through it; the *House* park; *Barebones*, a humorous designation given it by a late tenant to indicate a poor soil; the *Fore-brae*, in contradistinction to some of the Carbaglan fields which may have been called the Back-brae; the *Horse Hole* park, where the cattle were watered; the *Leven* (Elm?) *tree* park, next to Whirrieston. The upper fields of this farm are all known as the Carbaglan parks. The Leven tree park contains evidences of a previous dwelling-place there, as well as the trees growing near the spot.

On the way from Thornhill to Callander, one has to climb the *Garlands*. There are also the East and West Garlands on the Eastern farm of Norrieston. Garn is a variant of grain (c.f. garnels and granaries) and garlands, the grainlands, would almost certainly become garlands.

Munnieston is rich in its place names. The part of the road skirting the farm was known as the *Muir o' Dreich*, probably from its former dreary character; the field east of the loan is *Blairfad* (c.f. the Braendam Garfad); that west of the loan is *Alasdair's Acres*; these are also the *Fauld*, the *Kiln*, the *Goukstane*, the *Whinny Molland* and *Witch Molland*, *Tomban* and *Greenskairs* (seair, a bare spot on the side of a hill.)

At Little Ward we have a *Drucken Corner* (nearest the Toll House, formerly an alehouse) the *Horse Hole*, and the *Letter K* parks. The Letter K park takes its name from a board fixed on a pole with a letter K painted on it, and put up to mark an old boundary between the King's Boquhapple and the adjoining property.

By the kindness of Dr Leitch of Wester Boquhapple, we had access to a plan of Wester Boquhapple and surrounding properties, dated 1813, which did service in a dispute about certain boundaries before the Court of Session. From this interesting map we gather that the most westerly field on the present Mains of Boquhapple

was *Crookneck* lands. There was a "lint pool" at the back of *Chapel House*. The present Ballochneck was then *Burnside* of Ballochneck, and the then Ballochneck was further south and on the other side of the public road. The fields on the Wester Boquhapple are the *Hill Park* of Boquhapple, the *Middleton Bog*, the *Well Field*, with a "peat stack hill" near the bottom of it, the *Back Molland* (Mill Land), and the *Mill Molland*. The Keir, near Auchinsalt, was known as the *Castle* when the above-mentioned plan was made, and Middleton as *Middle Thirds* of Boquhapple.

Mains of Boquhapple has, among others, the following fields:—The *Tannery*, the *Barn* (there was an old barn in it), the *Bridge*, the *Whinny parks*, the *High Brae*, *Coterie*, *Black Bog*, *Fore Brae*, &c.

Auchensalt is singularly scanty in place names, and the few are most common-place—the *Glen*, the *Big Hill*, the *Wester*, and the *Back parks*.

Whirriston has the *Drumnahinney park*, the *Currach Brae* (currach, a bog). *Henry's park* or the *White Lea*, the *Rounill*, *Stable*, *East* and *Mid Acres*, the *Lang Rigs*, the *House*, and the *Wee parks*.

The fields of Lenniston were the *Dunaverig*, the *House*, the *Long Quarry* and the *Little Quarry parks*, *Shandon*, *Wester* and *Easter Dunmore*, *Lower*, *Middle* and *Upper Lades*, *Wester*, *Middle* and *Easter Moor parks*.

Carsafuir has the *Easter* and *Wester Hills*, the *Laigh*, *House*, *Well*, *Quarry* and *Wester Moor parks*, and the *Meadow*.

Ballinucater has a *Black*, a *Big*, and a *Glen park*.

Hogwood has a *Mallingorm*, in which there is a strong spring of excellent water. The close proximity of the mill tempts one to suggest *muileann gorm*, the blue mill, as the explanation of this name.

A field lying pouch-like on the hillside near Auchrig is known as the *Pouch*. The *Letter* was known as the "*Leter of Auchrig*," 1732. *Leitir*, a hillside, *auch ruigh*, "the field of the shieling."

Before closing we shall, for comparison, present

our readers with the fields on two farms of an Aberdeenshire parish: the Haughie, the Braehead, the Oldtown and the Beck parks, the Howe o' the Holm, the Jane Tough park, the Caird's Craft, &c., on the one; and, on the other, the Clienda, Hillock Rigs, the Laird's Rigs, the Lang Rigs, the Croft, the Ringill, Badybeg, Nether Wynana, Holebutts, the Kilnfeedle, Bogstuff, Badenfaughs, Bogfauld, Cot Parkie and Begbare.

G. W.

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### ANTIQUARIAN FIND AT DOUNE.

The doubling of the line from Dunblane to Calander has necessitated the altering of a road at the Crofts, Doune, and on Tuesday, 28th May, while digging, the navvies came across two stone cists containing bones. The cists were made of stone slabs. On Thursday, the men came on another cist about five feet from the surface. It was 3 feet long and 2½ feet broad, composed of round stones, and a quantity of bones were found in it, and also an urn. Unfortunately a cart wheel passed over the urn, smashing it. The pieces were, however, carefully collected and cemented, and they are now in the possession of Mr Smith, Clerk of Works to the Caledonian Railway Company, Doune. One of the cists first found was quite empty, but the other contained a large number of human bones, the largest about 1½ inches long. The coffins were about 15 inches from the surface, and lay from east to west. They measured 2 feet 9 inches in length, and in breadth and depth about 18 inches. They are constructed of local stone, and near the spot there has been a dyke running from the burgh to the sand holes, as the foundation was visible when the soil was being removed. Some of the stones indicate that a house might have stood near the spot, but there had been no public burying-place nearer than at Kilmadock and at the little chapel of Inverardoch previous to 1784. Two similar coffins were got about a mile to the west of this one when the line was being made, but these were longer, and the spot showed an ancient place of burial.

THE KING'S BLEACHING GREEN, STIRLING.

A small triangular park below Stirling Castle, to the west, is known as the King's bleaching green. Robert Chambers, in his "Picture of Stirling" (1830), makes mention of this park, and gives quotations from two royal signet letters in favour of the keepers of the washers' tubs, but it is evident that the old handwriting was misread by Mr Chambers or his informant, the deeds, which are still extant, containing no such uncouth words as "furms," "binks," and "plautery," while "umquhill our deceist spouse" is a pleonasm which has no existence in the original. The older of the two documents bears what seems to be the autograph signature of Mary of Guise, but the signature of "James R." appended to the later deed, in which the day and month are left blank, is clearly in the handwriting of a copying clerk. The following is a transcription of these interesting papers, which are in the possession of Mr David Chrystal, solicitor, Stirling, by whose kind permission they are now printed for the first time *in extenso* :—

*Regina.*

Marie be ye grace of god quene of Scotland and dowratrice of ye castell of Striueling, To all and sindrie oʳ subditis and in speciall to oʳ capitane constable of oʳ said castell and kepars of [oʳ] park yʳof pnt and tocum: ffor same kile as vmqʳ oʳ derrest spous ye kingis grace quham god assolve, prouidit be his lres vndir his signet ye hous and certane boundis yʳwith for ye keeping of ye wescharis tubbis and to set thornis wʳvyir necessar plantatioun for ye weschers and drying of ye clathis quhilks wantit of befoir to his louitts vmqʳ Johne Adamsone and Jonet Gillaspie his spous during yʳliftymes, like as at more lenth conteinit in ye lres maid yʳupoun vndir his signet, quhilk prouision to oʳ wescharis like as of befoir is sit als necessar: Quharfor, we considerand ye lang possessioun yʳof to ye effect forsaide, we haue gevin and grantit, be yir oʳ lres gevis and grantis till oʳ louitts William Adamsone yair sone brukit of befor, and to Jonet Nycholl his spous, and to Jonet Adamsone yair dochtir, and to ye langer levand of yam thrie ye

samin houses ye sard and thre ruds of land with ye pertinentis biggit and situat be ye said vmq<sup>n</sup> Johne Adamesone and Jonet Gillaspie of befoir togidder w<sup>t</sup> 4 kowis girs quhar it may be maist quietlie had, to be broukit and josit be yam and ye langer levand of yam during y<sup>r</sup> lifytymes, and yat for y<sup>r</sup> continuall seruice to ye effect forsaid and for ye dalie prayers to be done be yam for o<sup>r</sup> said vmq<sup>n</sup> derrest spous and wa. Quharfor we charge straitlie and commandis o<sup>r</sup> saids capitane constable of o<sup>r</sup> said castell keparis of o<sup>r</sup> park pnt and tocum and all vyris o<sup>r</sup> subditis and officiaris yat yai nor name of yam tak upon hand to molest trubbill wax stop inquiet or mak impedymet to ye saids William, Jonet his spouse, Jonet y<sup>r</sup> dochtir, or to ony ane [of yam<sup>n</sup>] during yare lifytymes [to yare peceabill<sup>t</sup>] bruiking and jolsyng of ye saids houses, sard, thrie ruds of land and kowis girs [for ye effect forsaid and under all panet] and charge yat eftir may follow, and vndir ye pane of tinsell of yare offices yat vsurpis in ye contrair heirot. Gevin vnder o<sup>r</sup> signet and subscription manual at o<sup>r</sup> said castell ye xxviiij day of Mail the seir of god jaj vc fifty seira.

[Seal wanting.]

MARIE R.

\* In margin:

† Illegible, but supplied from later deed.

James be grace of god Kyng of Scotland. To all and sindrie o<sup>r</sup> subditis and in speciall to o<sup>r</sup> capitane constable of o<sup>r</sup> castell of Striullyng and keparis of o<sup>r</sup> park yairof pre<sup>t</sup> and to cum. Forsamekle as o<sup>r</sup> vmq<sup>le</sup> darrist graindsair of gvid memore prouidit be his lres vndir his signet [ye] hows w<sup>t</sup> certan boundis y<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> for keeping of ye veschears tubbis and to sett thornis w<sup>t</sup> vyir necess<sup>r</sup> planta<sup>oun</sup> for ye veschears and drying of clathis qlks wantit of befoir to his lovits vmq<sup>le</sup> Johne Adamesoun and Jonet Gillespie his spous duryng y<sup>r</sup> lyvtymes, lyckas at mair lenth is conteinit in ye lres maid y<sup>r</sup> vpone vndir his signet, qlk provision to o<sup>r</sup> veschears lyck as of befoir is zit als necess<sup>r</sup>: Quhairfoir we considerand y<sup>r</sup> lang possession yairof to ye effect foirsaid, we haue gevin and grantit and be yir o<sup>r</sup> lres gevis and grantis to o<sup>r</sup> lowittis James Adamesoun, Jonat Adamesoun his spous, Thomas Adamesone y<sup>r</sup> sone, and to ye langer levar of yame

thrie ye samyn howes yairde and land and  
pertinents biggit and situatit be ye said vmq<sup>le</sup>  
Johne Adamesone and Jonet Gillespie of befoir,  
togidder w<sup>t</sup> twa kyegers and y<sup>r</sup> followaris neirest  
besyid ye hows on ye hillis, to be brukkit and  
josit be yame and ye langear levar of yame dvrng  
y<sup>r</sup> lyvetymes, and y<sup>t</sup> for y<sup>r</sup> contenevall services to  
ye effect foirsaid and for y<sup>r</sup> daylie prayer to be  
done for vs. Quhairfoir, we charge straitlie and  
command be yir pretes or saids capitane constable  
of ye said castell, kepers of park of Striulllyng  
pnt and to cum and all vy<sup>r</sup>is or subditis and  
officiaris [yat yai nor nane of yame\*] tak vpone  
hand to molest trubbill stop inqueyt, or mak  
impediment to ye saids James Adamesone, Jonat  
Adamesone, and John Adamesone, failzeing ye  
said Thomas Adamesone [or to any ane of yam\*]  
y<sup>r</sup> peciabil bruiking and joising [of ye saids\*]  
howssis, lande and pertinents and kyis gers  
w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> followaris for ye effect foirsaid and vndir  
all payne and chairge yat eftir may follow,  
togidder and w<sup>t</sup> tynsall of yair offices yat vsurpis  
in ye contrair heirof. Gevin vndir or signet and  
subscriptioun manuall at oure said castell of  
Striulllyng ye day of ye zeir  
of god Jaj v<sup>o</sup> four scoir and fourtein zeirs.

JAMES R.

\* Illegible, but supplied from earlier deed.

#### FORT AT STIRLING BRIDGE.

In the unprinted *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (*Acta*), under date of 5th June, 1685, the following letter from James the Seventh to the Duke of Queensberry is recorded :—

“ Sic suprascribitur, *James R.*

“ Right trustie and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor we greet yow well. Whereas we have thought fitt, for the good of our service, to ordor a new company of foot to be raised, and to be settled as a constant garrison in the Fort (to be called JAMES'S FORT) which we are resolved forthwith to cause to be built near the Bridge of Stirling, in that our ancient kingdome, of which company we have already granted a commission

to our right trusty and welbelovéd Captain George Barclay to be captain: and the same is to consist of sextie centinalls, besides the leivetenent, the ensigne, three serjants, three corporalls, and tuo drummers: it is therefor our will and pleasure, and we doe hereby authorize and require yow, to give the necessar ordors for levyng the said company with all convenient diligence, and to cause them as soon as can be to be brought to a muster: at and after which muster they are to enter into our pay, conforme to the dayly allowances in our establishment granted to the officers, souldiers and drummers respectively of that our company established as a garrison in our Castle of Stirling: for doing whereof this shall be your warrant, and so we bid yow heartily farewell. Given at our Court of Whitehall, the 16th day of May 1685, and of our reigne the first year. By his Majesties command, sic subcribitur, *Murray*.

"Directed thus—

"To our right trustie and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor William Duke of Queensberry, our commissioner in our ancient kingdom of Scotland."

D. H. F.

### THE EARLDOM OF MENTEITH.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE.]

SIR,—I am sure the Editor will do me the justice of informing his contributor, Mr Easton, that he is mistaken in saying that the articles he refers to were sent by me for publication in the *Genealogical Magazine*. I acknowledge the fairness of the Editor in allowing them to appear in his magazine, and I am content to leave its readers to judge whether Mr Easton has been successful in meeting any of the objections raised to the new Leitchtown pedigree, and whether his evasion of some of these is not significant of a weak case.

There are, however, two matters having no bearing on the question at issue, on which I crave leave to say a word or two in self-justification. The first is the unusual and, I think, perfectly unwarranted liberty Mr Easton takes with my

name and profession. The inconsistency of a commission agent, the half of whose name is assumed, complaining of a journalist's adoption of *noms-de-plume*, is amusing enough, but for my part I deny there has been any serious attempt at mystification. At an early stage of this controversy, my name was at Mr Easton's service. I find that in a letter dated 4th July, 1896, and published in the *Glasgow Herald*, I said there was no occasion for parading my name before the public—anonymous journalism is necessarily modest—but Mr Easton was heartily welcome to it privately if he thought it would do him any good. Unfortunately, the tone of Mr Easton's reply was so discourteous that I was obliged to withdraw the offer I had made, stating at the same time that my wish had simply been to warn him in a friendly way that he was entirely mistaken in regard to one of the old Graham pedigrees which he had attacked in *Notes and Queries*. I thought that in doing this, and also in concocting a new pedigree for the Leitchtoun branch without making anything like proper enquiry, Mr Easton was beginning at the wrong end. I am pleased to notice he is now learning, though slowly—my hint of the discovery of the missing link between Leitchtoun and Gartur has not yet been appreciated, probably because the connection is merely one by marriage and not by male descent from any Earl of Menteith—and I am not without hope that my humble contributions to the discussion of the subject, notwithstanding Mr Easton's poor opinion of them, will eventually lead to the honourable abandonment of his Canadian cousin's preposterous claim to an old Scottish peerage.

The second statement in Mr Easton's reply to which I desire to refer is the following:—"It is quite a mistake to say that Stobie's Survey places Gartrenich and Auchmore east and west—(this, by the way, is not what I said)—*for in neither of his surveys are these places mentioned.*" This positive assertion amounts to an accusation which I cannot allow to pass. I enclose for the Editor's inspection a *fac-simile* (unpublished) of Stobie's original survey of Perthshire, dated 1783, and have marked with a cross in red ink the names of "W. Gartrenich," "E. Gartrenich," and "Achmore," which Mr Easton so hardily asserts are not mentioned

in the map. They also appear in Stobie's Survey corrected down to 1806, and in the edition of the map published in 1827. Surely a writer who shows such a disregard of facts which can be so easily proved places himself outside the pale of polite discussion, and casts doubt upon the whole of his statements and arguments.

W. B. COOK.

Stirling, November, 1900.

[The above letter is printed here because the Editor of the *Genealogical Magazine* thought proper to suppress it, thereby forfeiting the character attributed to him in the opening paragraph.]

## ROBERT THE BRUCE AND ELEAZIR OF ABERDEEN.

### A SUSPICIOUS CHARTER.

When shall we be able to sit down and say the facts of Scottish history are known. Let the historian begin to write! The latest illumination of our early days comes from—of all places—the Glasgow Exhibition. In Room 8 (Section VII., No. 770 of the Catalogue) there is, or was, a case marked—Lent by . . . (a noble and popular Duke), and containing “(a) the Skian dhu of the Skene Family, (b) Original Charter of Robert the Bruce, (c) copy of above made in 1747.” This is all very nice, though not a very exciting description. And we confess at once that it is “Antiquary,” a writer in the *Glasgow Herald* of Saturday, 9th June, who has called our attention to one, indeed two, at least, of the latent wonders of the case. The first observation that he makes is that the 1747 “copy of above,” is a charter of the lands and loch of Skene in favour of Robert Skene, dated 1st June, 1317; and that it is not a “copy of above” Original Charter, by any means. His second observation is that the Charter, “which is very original indeed—will merit more than passing scrutiny by any visitor who will be at the pains to entertain himself by spelling out its unique and peculiar message of northern chronicle.” But,

hoping that we infringe no copyright, we venture to print the Charter itself:—

Robertus dei gratia rex Scottorum Omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue salutem. Sciatus nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse hebreo Eleazir burgensi Aberdonensi propter insignem virtutem in expugnando castello nostro del Abirdene totam terram que vocatur vulgo, The high prestes stans, infra vicecomitatum del Abirdene. Tenendam et habendam dicto Eleazir et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostri in foedo et hereditate in perpetuum per omnes rectas antiquas metas et divisas suas et cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus aiamentis ac justis pertinenciis quibuscunque. faciendo nobis et heredibus nostris dictis Eleazir et heredes sui servicium inde debitum et consuetum. Et insuper Reddendo quolibet anno ad festum Pentecostes tria prepuia aurata in scaccarium nostrum solvenda per omni alio servicio consuetudine seu demanda que de dicta terra exegi potuerit vel requiri. In cujus rei testimonium presenti carte nostri sigillum nostrum precepimus apponi Testibus Bernardo abbate del Abirbr[othoc] cancellario nostro. Thoma Ranulphi comite Moravie nepote nostro, Jacobo de Douglas, Roberto de Keth marescello nostro et Alexandro de Meigners militibus Apud Cambuskyneth duodecimo die Novembris anno regni nostri nono.

“Granted at Cambuskenneth,” says the aforesaid “Antiquary,” “in the year of Bannockburn, this writ should surely have been public property long ere this. Perhaps it has made its appearance on the historic stage before; if so, ’twere well we knew when and where and how. What a glorious opportunity for purple patching it would have afforded to the eloquent erudition of Sir Herbert Maxwell and Mr Andrew Lang! And for Mr R. S. Rait as a good Aberdonian could it have failed to send a thrill through his pages on the racial bearings of the “Relations between England and Scotland!”—*Scottish Antiquary*.

Our attention having been called to the charter printed above by a brief notice of it in the *Athenæum*, we succeeded in locating it in the Exhibition Catalogue, but failed to find it in the Exhibition itself, and were not surprised to learn from a later issue of the *Athenæum* that the Aberdeen charter of Eleazir the Jew had been withdrawn from the Archæological Section.

"For the sake of a definite palæographic verdict" (remarked our contemporary) "it might have been better had Eleazir stood fire," but it is something to have the text of the document, and our only regret is that it was not printed by the *Scottish Antiquary* with all the contractions of the original. It is easy to detect one error in the print—*per* for *pro* in line 17—and there may be other mistakes for which the deed itself is not responsible. We do not profess to pronounce a definite palæographic verdict, but in our opinion this so-called charter is an elaborate and rather indelicate joke, and we can only express surprise that it should have found its way, first into the Skene charter-chest, and second into the Archæological Section of the Glasgow Exhibition. Probably the idea of the joker was to prove there was no foundation for the popular belief that no Jew could live in Aberdeen because the natives are all Jews together, for here is a Jew burgess of the city as far back as 1314. One of the rites of the Jewish religion no doubt suggested the hitherto unheard-of reddendo, and there may also be a *double entendre* in the name of the land granted to Eleazir by the charter. We refrain from giving any translation of the document, the purpose of this article being to inquire whether, apart from the single feature which has cast suspicion on the charter, it does not contain evidence of its spuriousness which ought to have arrested the attention of the Archæological Committee of the Exhibition, and saved them from being made the victims of what appears to have been a practical joke. The fact that the charter is dated at Cambuskenneth gives the question of authenticity a certain degree of local interest, and may serve as an excuse for discussing the matter here.

To begin with, it must candidly be admitted that the charter stands all the ordinary tests of genuineness. The humourist who wrote it knew his business, and if he had been still alive, he would doubtless have enjoyed a good laugh at his success in hoodwinking the experts on the Exhibition Committee. The storming of the Castle of Aberdeen, in which Eleazir the Jew is said to have displayed the distinguished valour rewarded by the grant contained in the charter, took place

in 1308. Thom, the historian of the city, quoting Kennedy the annalist, gives the following account of the affair:—"About this time the citizens of Aberdeen stormed and carried the fortress of the city, which stood on the Castlehill. They massacred the English garrison, and levelled the fortifications with the ground." It is, accordingly, an historical fact that the charter recites. King Robert the Bruce's presence at Cambuskenneth on the 12th November, 1314, can also be verified, and the witnesses to the charter might all have been there on that date, which was just six days after the famous Parliament at Cambuskenneth at which the forfeiture of the traitors to Bruce was declared. With the exception of Sir Alexander de Meigners, their names appear as witnesses to a charter granted by Robert Bruce at Cambuskenneth on the 14th November, and if Mensies really led his clan at Bannockburn, as is stated by the chroniclers, there seems nothing to prevent his presence at Cambuskenneth in November, although he must have been upwards of eighty years of age at the time. Occasion, time, place, granter, and witnesses, are thus all sufficiently proved, and we must look a little closer for proof of the presumption that the charter is a fabrication. Fortunately, there is in existence a roll of charters granted by Robert the Bruce. There were several such rolls, but only one has been preserved. It contains transcripts of ninety-four charters, but the testing-clause is uniformly absent. These deeds are printed in the earliest volume of the "Register of the Great Seal," and in the chartularies of monasteries, and also in family papers, we have numerous charters of the same reign. There is, therefore, ample means of comparison between the Eleazar charter and charters of undoubted authenticity, and we give below the results of such comparison as we have been able to make from the materials at our command.

*Propter insignem virtutem, &c.*—The use of the preposition *propter* in setting forth the inductive cause for granting a charter, is contrary to the practice observed in Robert the Bruce's charters. *Pro* is the invariable word used, although *propter* may occur in the body of the deed.

*Per omnes rectas antiquas metas et divisas.*—

The adjective *antiquas* is rare in charters of this reign. We have only found a single instance, and there the order of the words is as follows:—*Rectas et antiquas metas et divisas.*

*Ac iustis pertinenciis quibuscunque.*—The conjunction is always *et*, and *quibuscunque* is unknown, the pronoun *suis* taking its place. This is the case in Bruce's charter granted two days after the date of the deed in question, and there is no reason for any difference in the form. As a matter of fact, *quibuscunque* does not appear in royal charters until the following reign. When it was considered necessary to emphasise the unlimited extent of the pertinents granted, the phrase employed was *tam non nominatis quam nominatis.*

*Et insuper Reddendo.*—The Bruce charters invariably begin the reddendo clause with the word "Reddendo." *Insuper*, or *et insuper*, is a later addition.

*Quolibet anno ad festum Pentecostes.*—The phrase *quolibet anno* is a superfluity which does not occur in the charters of the period; *annuatim* is the word generally used.

*In scaccarium nostrum solvenda.*—Payment in this way is never mentioned in the Bruce charters we have examined, nor can it be conceived what use the Exchequer could make of the articles specified. Three cauls, whether gilt or otherwise, would at least have been intelligible, there being a popular superstition, especially among sailors, that these were a protection against evil.

*Per [pro] omni alio servicio, consuetudine, &c.*—The common phrase is *pro omni alio servicio exactione seu demanda*, and there is no such extension as has been copied here from later charters.

We do not maintain that any one of these half-dozen differences in legal style, revealed by comparison with authentic charters, would prove the spuriousness of a deed in which it occurred, but when we find the whole of them in one brief document, it is surely enough to excite suspicion; and, we think, in view of the extraordinary nature of the reddendo, the Archaeological Committee should have been more careful in accepting the charter for public exhibition. The joke is perhaps amusing enough in a way, but it should have been kept private. Apparently, the charter has been manufactured by the simple process of

taking phrases from old charters and stringing them together—the reddendo itself is an adaptation of the common blench duty *unum par calcarium deauratorum*, a pair of gilt spurs—then adding the names of the witnesses from charters in the “Cartulary of Cambuskeneth” and “Registrum de Dunfermlyn.” With due care and sufficient learning, any number of sham antiques of this kind might be put into the market, and it is well their manufacture should be exposed when suspected, so that collectors, whether noble or simple, may be put upon their guard against imposition.

Since writing the above, we have been informed, through the courtesy of the Editor of the *Scottish Antiquary*, that the appearance of the text of the charter in that magazine has brought to light a copy, dated 1811, in the General Register House, Edinburgh, along with a letter from the then Town Clerk of Aberdeen, innocently interested to know that there were Jews holding lands there so early! The joke, therefore, is an old one, but it should not be impossible to “spot” its perpetrator.<sup>1</sup>

ED.

<sup>1</sup> The following sentence occurs in the course of some notes as to charter forgeries in the late Mr John Riddell's “Remarks on the Lennox Question,” 1885:—“The playful fabrication of a late amiable and lamented advocate, preserved in the Skene charter chest, still interests and deceives antiquaries—nay, even Aberdonians—where Robert I. makes a grant to a Jew under the Reddendo of *duo aurata preputia*.” Does this allusion refer to Joseph Robertson?

### THE LATE PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S SCOTTISH GENEALOGY.

It may not be generally known (writes a correspondent of the *Scotsman*) that President M'Kinley had a Perthshire connection through his ancestors. Some time ago Dr Todd, of Callander, met the Rev. Robert P. Porter (who has written a biography of the President) at the house of his brother, Mr Todd, in London. Mr Todd was anxious to get the correct genealogy of President M'Kinley, so Dr Todd got it in a genealogical letter from the late Mr Robert M'Laren, of Annie, near Callander,

a well-known gentleman in West Perthshire, which letter Mr Todd handed to Mr Porter, who forwarded it to the President. It was acknowledged to the Hon. Mr Porter by his Excellency's secretary of the same surname, Mr J. A. Porter. Mr M'Laren, in the course of his letter, says:—

“Probably Mr M'Kinley does not know that his ancestors were closely connected with this Calander district, and I believe ‘Annie’ was the home of the first family of that name. I have a genealogy of the President traced back to Macduff, Thane of Fife, who slew Macbeth. It is written and vouched for by Edward A. Claypool, a Chicago genealogist. A descendant of Macduff held high military rank under Malcolm IV., and his son was known as Mac-an-toisch (Gaelic, ‘Son of the chief of the foremost’) and was chief of the MacIntoshes. Ultimately, the line of descent became Farquharsons, sons of Farquhar MacIntosh, and they possessed estates in the Braemar district of Aberdeenshire. The twenty-first in the line of descent from Macduff was Finlay Farquharson, called Finlay Mor, from his great size and strength. He was killed at the battle of Pinkie, while bearing the Royal Standard, September 10th, 1547. He had four sons, who took the name of M'Finlay Macdonuly, which is in English M'Kinlay. Though they dropped the clan name, the McKinlays kept the motto of the Farquharsons—‘We force nae friend; we fear nae foe.’

“The eldest son of Finlay Mor, William—who died in the reign of James VI. (1603-1625)—had four sons, who settled at the ‘Annie’ (a corruption of the Gaelic for ‘Ford of the Deer’); John was William's eldest son, and his son again, Donald, who was born at ‘Annie,’ was known to be his (William's) grandson. Donald's son, John, born about 1645, had three sons—Donald, born 1669; James, ‘the trooper,’ and John, born 1679. This is where the President's line breaks off from the ‘Annie’ McKinlays. James, ‘the trooper,’ went to Ireland, where the spelling of his name was changed to McKinley, as the Irish pronounce it. His descendants went to America, and the President's descent has been traced in Mr Porter's book on that line. Of course, I cannot say whether the connection with Macduff is correct, but my mother, who was a McKinlay, had

a tradition, which had descended through many generations, that the McKinlays were originally Farquharsons from Braemar, and had been tenants in 'Annie' since it became the property of the Stirlings of Keir by marriage about the time of the Reformation. The old churchyard of St Bride's, situated on this farm ('Annie') beside the river Leny, has been the burying-place of all the 'Annie' McKinlays, and contains the tombstone of John, brother of James, 'the trooper.' This is the inscription on it:—'Here lies John McKinlay and Elizabeth Ferguson, who died the 30th day of August, 1732, in the fifty-third year of his age.' For seven generations the eldest son of the 'Annie' branch was named John, and six of them are buried in St Bride's. My grandfather was the last of the name who was tenant of 'Annie.' He died in 1812. His widow, four sons, and two daughters, emigrated to Canada, where their descendants are still scattered about. His eldest son John was a lieutenant in the 92nd Highlanders, and was wounded at the battle of Quatre Bras (1815), and his son John died unmarried some years ago in New Zealand. My mother, Catherine McKinlay, was the eldest daughter, and married Robert M'Laren, who had been tenant in Stank (Gaelic, "Pointed Rock"), at the foot of Ben Ledi, but left it and took the Annie farm after the McKinlays emigrated. Five of my brothers went to America. One is a farmer in Michigan, U.S.A., and the others have farms in Ontario."

"There was originally a chapel at St Bride's. Sir Walter Scott introduced it in the 'Lady of the Lake.' The marriage party is issuing from the chapel door, when the 'Fiery Cross,' the signal for the clansmen to muster, is put into the bridegroom's hands, and Norman has to leave his bride (Mary of Tombea), and speed with the signal, till he meets someone who will carry it on. Tombea, a hill now a part of Annie farm, was once tenanted by many crofters. My mother, who was born in 1794, remembered the gable of the chapel standing when she was a girl. I have heard a story of my great-grandfather, John M'Kinlay, at the time of the '45. His laird, Stirling of Keir, who had leanings to the side of the Stuarts, wrote to him to ask if he could raise a few men for the Prince

(' Bonnie Prince Charlie.') M'Kinlay having read the letter, locked it up, and went out to visit his neighbours, quite in an ordinary way, and in the course of conversation inquired what they thought of Prince Charlie's claim. He found that they were entirely opposed to the movement, and had no idea of joining or supporting it in any way. He returned home, therefore, and having first burned the laird's letter, he set out on his pony for Keir House, near Dunblane, where he had an interview with the laird, and told him he could not hope for any men from the 'Annie' district, and at the same time advised him not to entangle himself with the Rebellion. After the Rebellion the Laird of Keir was tried for his share in it, and narrowly escaped losing his head. If McKinlay had not been so prudent and cautious about the Laird's letter, it would have supplied the positive evidence needed to condemn him.

"The McKinlays were a quiet, intelligent, and shrewd race of men. I was told by a relative of mine, who has seen the President, that there is a strong resemblance between him and one of my uncles, who left 'Annie.' I myself can see in the portrait of President McKinlay's father a striking likeness to the McKinlays I have known."

"A Relative," writing with regard to the ancestry of the late President M'Kinley, says—"His grandfather and grandmother lived for some time in Auchinribach, near Kilsyth. They had a family of two sons and four daughters, named William, John, Jean, Isabella, Agnes, and Mary M'Kinley. William emigrated to America, and settled down as a farmer in Ohio. John was connected with mining at Kilsyth, and remained about Kilsyth during his lifetime. Jean was married to a Daniel M'Ghee; they also emigrated to America. Two of their sons are lawyers in Philadelphia. Isabella was married to a Mr Alexander Peton, connected with mining in the neighbourhood of Bishopbriggs. Agnes was married to a farmer named John Thom, of the farm of Newfieldhead, in the neighbourhood of Kirkintilloch. Mary was married to a Mr James Rowat; they lived at Muirhead, Cumberland. The nearest relatives of the late President known to be living in Scotland are three cousins,

namely—Janet Thom or Mrs David Bryson, Bonnybridge; Mr William Rowat, Cumbernauld; and Mr John Thom, Strathbungo, Glasgow. Of the M'Kinley family, William, who emigrated to America and settled down as a farmer in Ohio, was father of the late President, William M'Kinley."

✓ no! definitely  
no!

### THE OLD LUDGINGS OF GLASGOW.\*

We are very pleased to recognise in the author of this admirable volume an old Border friend, who, after a Canadian experience of some years, returned to his native land, and is now employed in the *Evening Citizen* office, from which his book is published. The book itself may be regarded as the first fruits of the splendid work done for the city of Glasgow by Mr R. Renwick, City Clerk Depute, in his eleven volumes of Glasgow Protocols. Mr Lugton, however, is no copyist. He has used the protocols and other authentic sources of information to confirm the results of his personal investigations among old localities, and he has, with patient labour and much care, collected from living persons what they could tell about the old ludgings, and has thereby, for the first time, brought to light a number of interesting facts, some of which have an important bearing on the history of Glasgow. His identification of the pre-Reformation mansees, which stood in the vicinity of the Cathedral, has been greatly assisted by Mr Renwick's map, but there has also been much original research, and Mr Lugton re-creates this part of Old Glasgow with a completeness which is as wonderful as it is satisfactory. Other old buildings, some of which have survived the so-called "march of progress," are also minutely described. Up till the middle of the last century, Mr Lugton informs us, Glasgow could show a direct line of characteristic dwelling-houses from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, following each other so closely with the dates of erection as would have afforded a unique opportunity for the

\* THE OLD LUDGINGS OF GLASGOW: PRE-REFORMATION MANSEES, &c. Illustrated. By Thomas Lugton. Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Sons.

study of the transitions and progress of domestic architecture, but since then, alas! no time has been lost in effecting a transformation, and in a few years, as Mr Lugton remarks, the ancient city St Mungo will be more modern than Boston, Massachusetts. "The present generation," he adds with too much truth, "is extremely interested about Reginalds who never were, and adventures that never happened. Another generation, more practical and with a finer historic sense, may regret that good types of domestic architecture, representing various dates of erection, were not left in Glasgow, to have given stories to their stones." Our author's discoveries of what is still to be seen in the streets of Glasgow ought to ensure the preservation of the relics in all time coming. We leave it to Glasgow critics to follow Mr Lugton in his account of the old streets and mansion-houses, but it does not require any local knowledge to perceive that he has done a useful piece of hard antiquarian work in a very modest way, and we scarcely know which to admire most—his zeal and diligence of research, and the literary ability with which the results of his investigations are set forth; or the pecuniary sacrifice involved in publishing at a nominal price what in the ordinary course of business would have been at least a five-shilling book.

One general remark made by Mr Lugton may be noticed as applicable to our own burgh as well as to Glasgow. While in England willow and mud houses may have been erected from the beginning of things, in stony Scotland dry-stone building must have been in practice from the remotest times. The generalisation that Scottish houses in the olden time were wood hovels, easily replaced when burnt by accident or invasion, is unlikely. Our ancient brochs were of stone, and so were our ancient burghs, with this difference, that the stone houses had wooden fronts (sometimes two storeys in height), and when fire swept along our streets it was those wooden fronts and projecting booths that were consumed, the stone houses behind remaining to a great extent uninjured by the flames. This is a reasonable view to take, we think, and harmonises with the fact that building timber was at no time very plentiful in Scotland, notwithstanding the legends of vast forests related

by some of our historians. In Stirling, as in Glasgow, houses which are described in the records as "waste" and "ruinous," are very soon found re-occupied as dwelling-houses, and the explanation may be that only the bearers and rafters were removed or destroyed.

Two subjects—one of antiquarian and the other of historical interest—discussed by Mr Lugton, both in his text and in his instructive appendix, are the place-name "Glasgow" and "Queen Mary's Lodgings," which have a connection with one of the most damaging of the famous "Casket Letters." With regard to the origin of the name Glasgow, Mr Lugton seems to think that the name of the town was originally *Dhauisce* (two waters), and was changed to *Glasgu* (dear or sacred rivulet), when St Mungo and St Columba met and held a choral festival at the church. This idea is founded on a phrase of Joceline of Furness, "*In villa dicta Deschu qua nunc vocatur Glaschu*," Mr Lugton apparently rejecting the suggested explanation that *deschu* is probably a misreading of *cleschu*, the letter *d* in the old handwriting being scarcely distinguishable from *cl*. Is it not more likely however, that the first syllable of *Glasgu* is a corruption of the Celtic *Eaglais* (church), and that if the Welsh *ca* is to be accepted, the real meaning is "dear or sacred church?" This would be a much more appropriate memorial of the meeting of the Saints at the primitive church than the preservation of the local name for a stream or streamlet. But we do not wish to enter upon the thorny path of the etymology of place-names, and merely throw out a suggestion which has occurred to ourselves.

In his work on "Queen Mary's Lodgings in Glasgow," we think Mr Lugton has made out a good case for the rejection of the Bishop's Castle as her residence, and he has collected scraps and traditions which point to "Provand's Lordship" as the actual place where the Queen lodged when visiting Darnley. This was the town house of Baillie of Provand, and with its fourteen large rooms, was the only house near the place of Stable Green (where Darnley lay) large enough and in fit condition to receive the Queen and her retinue. The house still stands at the

corner of Macleod Street facing Cathedral Square, but has lost nearly all its antique features. Assuming that the tradition is correct Mr Lugton thinks a new light is thrown upon the famous Glasgow letter of the Casket series. Queen Mary lodged so close to Darnley as to have only some 150 feet to traverse in visiting his bedside, and it was as easy for her to take down Darnley's speech as it was for Crawford of Jordanhill to record it for the purpose of reading it to Lord Lennox. We gather that Mr Lugton's idea is that Darnley repeated his speech to his wife and to Crawford at different times, and that therefore the similarity of the reports of it in the Queen's letter and in Crawford's declaration is no proof that Crawford was recording the actual interview between the Queen and her husband. Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow, has been mentioned as the probable forger of the Glasgow letter, and Mr Lugton says there may not have been much difficulty in making interpolations in a letter which was completed on scrap or memorial paper, with jottings and marginal notes mixed up. The theory, of course, is that the Queen noted down Darnley's speech on memorandum paper containing a number of other jottings, and that the whole was thrown into the form of a letter by Douglas, with such interpolations as he and his fellow-conspirators, Crawford and Bailie, thought would blast the Queen's reputation. This is not improbable, but we confess we do not see how the identification of the Queen's lodgings helps the theory of conspiracy to forge the letter, and with regard to the identification itself, we would remind our author that in the letter in question Darnley is represented as complaining that the Queen did not lodge nigh to him, which, if correct, would scarcely harmonise with the fact that she was only 150 feet distant, and it is not likely a statement so easily provable as the nearness or distance of the two lodgings would have been intentionally falsified in a forged letter. It is only fair to add, however, that *pres de luy* in the original French, *prope se* in the Latin translation, and "nigh to him" in the English version of the Glasgow letter, are "besyde him" in the Scots translation, and may mean "with him," as indeed Darnley is made to say in another part

of the same letter, when he asks the Queen to lodge in his lodging.

Before parting with Mr Lugton, we wish again to express the pleasure which his unpretentious but exceedingly valuable volume has given us, and we must compliment the publishers on the excellent style in which the book is illustrated and printed.

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#### LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, 1901.

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It is in the section of the Exhibition devoted to Scottish History and Archæology that Stirling and district are best represented. This section is on a much larger scale than the Bishop's Castle exhibition of 1888, the Committee having been able to cull precious relics and memorials over a much wider field than they drew from on that occasion. The London Stuart Exhibition of 1889, the Edinburgh Heraldic Exhibition, and various ecclesiastical and other special collections brought together since the last Exhibition in Glasgow, have all afforded information which has been carefully used for the present Exhibition. The local contributions, however, are pretty much the same as in 1888, no special effort having been made to supplement them, and the Committee have thereby lost the opportunity of enriching the collection and adding to its informative value. At the same time, they are justified in claiming that as a whole, the collection is the most ample exposition of Scottish Archæology and History which has ever been brought together for temporary purposes.

The exhibition of Prehistoric Antiquities includes a stone hammer found at Gargowan, Kilmaronock, and lent by the Duke of Montrose; and in the section allotted to Roman and Early Christian Remains are the late Miss MacLagan's model of an ancient Broch and eleven of her beautiful rubbings from sculptured stones. The originals of three of these rubbings can easily be seen by visitors to Rothesay. Two of them are from a free standing cross in the old churchyard,

and one is from a monument in a mural recess in the ancient parish church, now in ruins. Section III. is intended to illustrate the period of Scottish history from the War of Independence till the close of Queen Mary's reign, and here are shown no fewer than four swords connected with Bruce and Bannockburn. The Earl of Elgin lends the two-handed sword formerly preserved at Clackmannan Tower as the sword of King Robert the Bruce, but unless this weapon can be identified with the sword which James III. took to Sauchieburn in 1488 and lost on the battlefield, where it was afterwards found and restored to his successor, the authenticity of the Elgin sword can hardly be admitted. It is of some local interest to note that Walter Simson, the finder of Bruce's sword, along with a coffer containing £4000, on the field of Sauchie, was rewarded with a grant in liferent of part of the lands of Cessintully and Coldoch in the Stewartry of Menteith. In the Account of the Chamberlain for 1488-9 it is stated that the lands were given to Simeon "*pro suo servicio et recuperatione cuiusdam boxe quatuor millium librarum auri monetati, et cuiusdam gladii quondam regis Roberti Bruce, in bello prope Strueling in die Sancte Barnabe.*" According to local tradition, Bruce had resided at Clackmannan Tower, and certain vestiges had long been regarded with veneration as associated with his history. Among these were a sword and a helmet, both said to have been used by Bruce at the Battle of Bannockburn. On the death of Catherine Bruce, wife of the last of the line of the Bruces of Clackmannan (who, by the way, could not have been legitimately descended from King Robert), the sword and helmet came into the possession of an ancestor of Lord Elgin, he being considered the chief of the family. The crucial question is—How, if this be the sword of Robert the Bruce, did it pass from the Royal Stewarts to the Bruces of Clackmannan? This question, as far as we know, has never been answered. Perhaps an equal degree of doubt does not attach to the sword lent by the Earl of Home, and which is said to have been the sword which King Robert the Bruce on his deathbed gave to Sir James Douglas, but a little more evidence of its genuineness

than the legend inscribed on the blade would be desirable. The Earl of Ancaster sends the two-handed sword with which Lundie of that ilk is said to have fought for Bruce at Bannockburn, and there is another sword said to have been used at the battle by the chief of the Clan Menzies, but in both cases their history rests on tradition alone. Other relics of Bruce are a cast of his skull, taken in 1823, when the King's tomb in Dunfermline Abbey was opened, and a medallion containing part of the cloth found in the grave, the former being lent by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and the latter by the Earl of Ancaster. An interesting relic of the Battle of Bannockburn is the calthrop lent by the Trustees of the Smith Institute. This specimen of the four-pointed instrument which Bruce caused to be strewn over part of the ground for the purpose of laming the enemy's horses, was found while draining the field of Bannockburn, and may be accepted as proving the accuracy of Buchanan the historian's statement that such an expedient was resorted to by the Scottish leader. The calthrop consists of four sharp prongs, and the peculiarity of the invention is that whichever way it is thrown on the ground one of the prongs stands upright. The Latin motto on the Isle of Man coat of arms—*Quocunque jeceris, stabit* (whichever way you throw it, it will stand)—applies more correctly to the calthrop than to the three legs of Man, which cannot stand, however thrown; and, besides, it is not usual or natural to throw legs about. There may be something in the theory, first propounded by the present writer, that the arms (or rather legs) in question probably originated from a calthrop, and in confirmation of this suggestion it may be mentioned that the familiar device is not the ancient arms of Man, which were a ship in full sail, but was only adopted after Bruce's conquest of the island in 1313. The Duke of Montrose sends a relic of another illustrious patriot, Sir John the Graham, the friend and comrade of Sir William Wallace. He was slain at the battle of Falkirk in 1298, and was buried in Falkirk Churchyard, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen. The sword may be genuine, but an inscription on it is dated 1406,

with the initials S. J. G. (Sir John Graham). Anderson, in his "Scottish Nation," gives the inscription on the sword as follows:—

"Sir John ye Grame verry richt and wyse,  
One of ye chiefs relievit Scotland thryse,  
Fought with ye sword, and ner thout schame,  
Commandit nane to beir it bot his name."

Anderson adds that the first couplet of the above is borrowed from the English translation of the Latin epitaph on the Falkirk monument. The Exhibition Catalogue supplies two important corrections of Anderson's version of the inscription. "Beskevit" (rescued) takes the place of "relievit," and the meaningless "ner thout schame" is seen to be "never tholit schame." Was the original stone in Falkirk Churchyard placed there and inscribed prior to 1406? Upon this point there seems to be no definite information, although Anderson assumes that the question must be answered in the affirmative.

One of the principal contributors to Section IV. of the Exhibition, illustrative of the reign of Mary Stuart and the Reformation, is Lord Balfour of Burleigh, who sends, as he did in 1888, the magnificent ciborium presented by Queen Mary to his ancestor, Sir James Balfour. This remarkable vessel, one of the finest examples of the *champlevé* process as practised by the enamellers of the eleventh century, is traditionally regarded as having belonged to Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, 1056-1092. Lord Balfour also lends from his collection a covered tankard of agate known as Queen Mary's "Candle Cup"; four silver spoons belonging to the Queen Mary relics at Kennet; a very finely-cut bloodstone cameo, set in a locket, and attached to a necklace of gold-mounted agate, worn by Queen Mary, and given by her to Sir James Balfour; and the Queen's handbell of silver gilt, with ornamental designs and inscriptions. One of the engravings on this interesting relic is the sacred monogram composed of the Greek letters, *Chi* and *Rho*. In our opinion, it is the same monogram which was originally intended to be signified by the mark of the Stirling Guildry and other merchant and trade guilds dating from the thirteenth century. There is shown in a frame in the Glasgow Exhibition, but not catalogued, a number of examples of this mysterious mark, but

there is no specimen from Stirling, where it is oftenest to be met with, nor has the artist attempted to offer any explanation of the symbol. The Earl of Ancaster sends a work box said to have belonged to Queen Mary, and also some ornaments from her dress, and a portion of the hangings of the room in which Rizzio was murdered; while an Italian ewer and basin in mother-of-pearl, likewise supposed to have been the property of the unfortunate Queen, has been lent by Mr Cunninghame Graham, late of Gartmore. Two relics of Queen Mary's son, James VI., come from this district. The Earl of Mar and Kellie sends the oak cradle of the King, and ex-Councillor Cunningham, Stirling, sends His Majesty's silver corkscrew, with his initials engraved on it—a neat affair, which goes into small compass, and is of excellent workmanship. In the same section of the Exhibition are shown three carved panels from the old Royal Palace in Stirling Castle, lent by the Trustees of the Smith Institute, although why they are catalogued as belonging to the period of Queen Mary we do not understand. If they came originally from the Palace, they could not be later than the early part of the reign of James V., while if they came from the Parliament Hall, they date back to the time of James III. The catalogue mentions a MS. Memoir of Henry Guthrie, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1637-49, but we presume that what is meant is one of the manuscripts (for there are several in existence) of Guthrie's well-known "Memoirs of Scottish Affairs, Civil and Ecclesiastical," first published in 1702. Henry Guthrie was minister of Stirling from 1632 to 1649, when he was succeeded by James Guthrie, the martyr.

Section V., "The Covenanting Times," contains little of local interest. Two documents from the Gartmore charter chest refer to ancestors of Mr R. B. Cunninghame-Graham. One, described in the Catalogue as a "blank document," is signed by Charles I., and nominates Sir William Graham of Gartmore, who was a prominent royalist, colonel of a regiment. It is dated 30th December, 1632. The other is a passport to the Earl of Glencairn, from whom Mr Graham takes the name of Cunninghame, superscribed by Charles I., and signed by the Scottish nobles who were his

principal advisers. This document is dated at Edinburgh, April, 1633. The Earl of Ancester is a large contributor to this section, most of the exhibits from his Lordship's collection having reference to James Drummond, fourth earl of Perth, who flourished in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. The Duke of Montrose sends an Andrea Ferrara sword with basket-hilt and silver, which belonged to Viscount Dundee, and a chair which had for its owner the great Marquis of Montrose. Another chair of the Covenanting period comes from the Smith Institute, Stirling. This is the well-accredited armchair which belonged to the martyr Guthrie, and may have been the identical chair in which Charles II. sat on the occasion of his visit to Guthrie, which, owing to the obstinate and uncompromising tone adopted by the minister of Stirling, is said to have been the cause of his execution in 1661. The chair, which is described as a good example of the work of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, is very plain with the exception of the top rail, which has been elaborately carved. It forms one of the illustrations in Mr J. W. Small's "Ancient and Modern Furniture." The trustees of the Smith Institute also send a contemporary portrait of Guthrie on wood by an unknown artist. This portrait represents just such a stern ecclesiastic as our local records show Guthrie to have been—a real prelate, or Pope, without the mitre. Mr A. Erskine Murray lends a letter from the Rev. Alexander Henderson, a truer Presbyterian than Guthrie, explaining to the Countess of Mar his refusal to remove from Cupar-Fife in 1632. While minister of Leuchars, Henderson was twice invited to come to Stirling on the occurrence of a vacancy in the ministry of the parish. On both occasions, in 1618 and 1630, John Cowane was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Town Council to do their utmost to induce Mr Henderson to leave Leuchars, but he declined. By some mistake, two cannon balls from the battlefield of Sheriffmuir, found about 1887, and lent by Mr C. E. Whitelaw, are included in this section instead of the next, which illustrates the Union and Jacobite risings. Here, again, the Earl of Ancester's splendid collection has been drawn upon for

Jacobite relics, of which the most interesting is a cannon which probably formed part of the quarter-deck armament of the French frigate, "Doutelle," sometimes written "Dontelle," from which Prince Charlie landed at Moidart in 1745. It was certainly (says the entry in the Catalogue) one of the small train of artillery which accompanied the Prince in his adventurous attempt to subvert the Hanoverian dynasty by the invasion of England. On his return to Scotland, on the frustration of his hopes of English support, the gun was abandoned by him at Derby, after having been rendered unserviceable by breaking off one of its trunnions. It was kept in the Castle of Derby till the year 1834. Ultimately it became the property of John Delane, Esq., who presented it to Lady Willoughby de Eresby. A sword worn at Culloden by the Duke of Perth, whose dukedom was a creation of the Chevalier, a silver dessert-spoon in silver-gilt casket, used by Prince Charlie, and a medallion containing a lock of his hair and part of his Order of the Garter, are among the other Jacobite relics from Drummond Castle. The ribbon of the garter worn by the Prince at Culloden, and a brooch of his are lent by the Earl of Mar and Kellie, who also sends a framed account of the Rising of 1715. A silver watch with steel chain and seals, taken at the battle of Falkirk, is lent by Mr R. Glen, the grandson of the Highlander who annexed them from a Hanoverian officer. From the Duke of Montrose's collection there come a lance and ammunition pouches used by troops in the early half of the eighteenth century. A copy of Dougal Graham's History of the Rebellion is shown in this section of the Exhibition, but surely an earlier edition than the eighth, published in 1868, might have been obtained. At an exhibition in Glasgow in connection with the centenary of the death of Robert Burns, Mr George Gray, a well-known Glasgow collector, showed, if we remember rightly, a copy of the third edition, and with a little search a copy of the second edition, if not the first, might have been secured. Portraits of the Hon. James Erskine, Lord Grange, who sent his wife into perpetual exile, and died no better than the keeper of a coffee-house, or rather the protector of its landlady, and of John, sixth earl of Mar, who

was attainted for his share in the Rebellion of 1715, are lent by the Earl of Mar and Kellie.

Section VII. is devoted to Literary and Personal Memorials without any sort of classification. Here is exhibited, as if in defiance of recent ignorant attempts to destroy it, the genealogical tree of the Earls of Menteith, showing the descent of the Grahams of Gartmore. It may be that every link of this descent cannot be proved by legal evidence, but this is a statement which may be made regarding a good many old pedigrees, and it is no excuse whatever for the absurd assertion that the Grahams of Gartmore are not descended from any Earl of Menteith, but from some unknown branch of the Montrose Grahams. The controversy originating from an amusingly impudent claim to the Earldom of Menteith by the descendant of a family whose only connection with the Menteith Grahams was by marriage, being thus hopelessly in rear of Mr Barclay-Allardice, the lineal representative of the Earls of Menteith on the female side, has languished for lack of fresh arguments on behalf of the claimant, although it is understood the discredited claim itself has not been abandoned. Mr R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, who publicly defies the critics of the Gartmore pedigree by its exhibition in Glasgow, also sends from the Gartmore charter chest a deed bearing that the Earl of Menteith was made a burghess of Culroos on 29th September, 1631; a document of Euphemia, Countess of Stratherna, with a portion of her seal; and the patent of the Earldom of Glencairne, dated 28th May, 1488, in favour of Alexander de Cunningham of Kilmaurs, who was created Lord Kilmaurs by James II. and Earl of Glencairne by James III. Less than two months after his elevation, the Earl was killed at the battle of Sauchieburn, and the Act Rescissory of James IV. is said to have deprived his son Robert of the title, though there is here shown what is described as the retour of the Earldom of Glencairne, dated 1st November, 1488. In whose favour the retour is made is not stated in the Catalogue, and only an examination of the deed itself could clear up the difficulty. A collection of old maps, chiefly of Scotland, lent by Mr John E. Shearer, F.S.A. Scot., Stirling, is worthy of attention. Mr Shearer has for years been on

the lookout for old maps of Scotland, and his industry and success in collecting them have earned the appreciation of the Royal Geographical Society. Useful for geographical and topographical purposes these old maps have a special value in the study of place-names, as they often give ancient forms of these names which afford a clue to their meaning. Mr Shearer has made a beginning in collating local place-names from the numerous old maps he has collected, and we trust he will continue the work and give the public the benefit of his information. The Duke of Montrose contributes to this section a volume of the Lennox Charters and other documents, the most important of which have been published in the late Sir W. Fraser's book on the Lennox, while the Marquis of Breadalbane has sent four letters relating to the famous Rob Roy. Except that one refers to fir trees, and another is a letter of Rob's about a Mr Robert Stewart, the Exhibition Catalogue leaves us in ignorance of the contents of these documents. Rob Roy's shield is lent by Mr James Campbell of Tullichewan, and his dagger by the Banff Museum, but whether, or how, they are authenticated, we do not know.

In Section VIII., which is a collection of portraits, miniatures, medallions, medals, &c., there are no fewer than thirteen portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, among the contributors being the Earl of Ancaster, from whose vast collection most of the exhibits in this section have been obtained; the Earl of Mar and Kellie, the Earl of Dunmore, and Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart, M.P. The Duke of Montrose sends four portraits of his illustrious ancestor, the first Marquis, and one of these, painted by George Jamesone, the Scottish Vandyck, has a special local interest, inasmuch as it hung for a long time in a house in Melville Terrace, when it was the property of Miss Mary Haldane Colquhoun, to whose ancestor, an English clergyman, the great Marquis gave permission to ask Jamesone to paint him in return for the respect and kindness with which he had been treated while taking refuge in Mr Colquhoun's rectory in England in the year 1640. The Rev. Mr Colquhoun was a younger son of Colquhoun of Camstradden, a family which was connected by marriage with the Grahams of Rednock and the Grahams of

Duchray, the former descendants of the fourth Earl of Menteith, and the latter of the first Earl. John Graham of Duchray, a brother-in-law of Alexander Colquhoun of Camstradden, was the comrade and henchman of the Marquis of Montrose in many a fight, and at the great funeral of the Marquis after the Restoration, to Duchray, the "great Highland Hector," was entrusted the honour of carrying in the procession the great pincell or banner bearing the Marquis's arms. The veteran warrior was awarded a pension, and died in 1699, almost a centenarian. The Duke of Montrose also contributes to this section of the Exhibition a portrait of Captain Lord George Graham in his cabin, a work of the celebrated William Hogarth. Lord George was the fourth son of the first Duke of Montrose, and was a captain in the Royal Navy. He was Governor of Newfoundland, and on his return to this country he represented Stirlingshire in Parliament from 1741 till his death in 1747. It is well known that the present Lord Graham has a liking for the sea, and has served in the merchant marine, though he is now an army officer under Lord Kitchener. Lord Balfour of Burleigh sends a portrait by Sir John Medina of Lady Margaret Balfour, through whose youngest sister, Mary, the barony of Burleigh came into the family of Bruce of Kennet. Another interesting portrait is that of the Hon. Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, sixth son of John, Earl of Mar, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, by his second wife, Lady Marie Stewart, and the progenitor of a long line of proprietors of Alva of the name of Erskine. Among the medals in this section is the well-known Sheriffmuir silver medal, with the head of George I. on the obverse, and on the reverse an allegorical representation of the battle, with the inscriptions:—*PERJURI · ULTRIX* and *AD · DUNBLAINUM, 13 NOV., 1715.*

Section IX. is a fairly large collection of arms and armour, comprising a number of historical weapons, or rather weapons that would be historical if any faith could be placed in their description as given in the Catalogue. There is, for instance, a two-handed sword, lent by Sir W. Gordon-Cumming, Bart., and said to have belonged to Sir William Wallace. It is, of course, possible this was the case, but the only Wallace Sword

which is in the least degree authenticated is the one now safely preserved in the National Wallace Monument. Mr W. Cunningham, Stirling, sends a two-handed sword which is more cautiously described as "supposed to belong to the period of Wallace." Then there is a sword known as "Hal o' the Wynd's Sword," but as it has a Ferrara blade, it can never have belonged to the famous armourer of Perth. A remarkably fine Andrea Ferrara comes from Mr Cunningham's collection, the blade being ground to the point, which is rarely seen in swords of this make. Mr Cunningham also sends a battle axe supposed to belong to the Bruce period, and a Lochaber axe. The collection of Doune pistols is the best we have seen, but none of these weapons bear the name of Thomas Caddell, the earliest maker. Logan, in his "Scottish Gael," says, on the authority of the New Statistical Account of Scotland, that the manufacture of pistols was introduced in Doune about 1646 by Thomas Caddell, who had acquired the art at Muthil, from which he removed to Doune, where he settled. We are inclined to believe that Caddell was a native of the Doune district, as we find that in 1636 an Andrew Caddell is designed as son and heir of John Caddell, portioner of Murdochstone. This Andrew married Helen Muschet, daughter of John Muschet in the Parktown of Doune, a relation of the Muschets of Calziechat, and descended from the Tolgarth and Burnbank family of that name. Thomas Caddell, the pistol-maker, may have been a younger brother of Andrew. His son and grandson carried on the business. The names engraved on their pistols were often those of the owners, and it is not unlikely that some of the beautiful specimens in the Exhibition were manufactured by the Caddells. One of Thomas Caddell's apprentices was John Campbell, who is said to have supplied Doune-made pistols to the first nobility of Europe. John Murdoch, who succeeded Campbell, carried on the manufacture with equal credit, and he had apparently a son, Thomas, in the same business. It is stated that these Doune pistols brought from four to twenty-four guineas a pair. One pair superbly ornamented, was purchased by the Magistrates of Glasgow for presentation to the Marquis de Bouille. The Duke of Fife sends to

the Exhibition two finely-engraved steel pistols with ramshorn butts, which, though not so described, are probably Doune pistols. Including these, we counted about a score of steel pistols and one brass one, manufactured in Doune. Two pistols from the Smith Institute Museum are of the best Doune make, with ramshorn butts and silver-mounted. One was made by Murdoch, and the other may be a Caddell, the name-plate "John Crystie" being probably that of the owner. There was in Thomas Caddell's time a John Crystie of Doune who was a man of some importance. Mr Alfred W. Cox sends no less than ten Doune pistols, all excellent specimens, by John Campbell, Alex. Campbell, and T. Murdoch. There is also a pair by John Murdoch, inlaid with silver, and having a name-plate with the crest and motto of the Grants, from the collection of Mr C. E. Whitelaw. A steel pistol with engraved ramshorn butt, by John Campbell, is lent by Mr Robert Glen, while from the Ancester collection comes a solitary brass pistol by T. Murdoch. A Highland pistol which belonged to Rob Roy, lent by the Marquis of Breadalbane, is not unlikely of Doune manufacture. A flintlock pistol chased and inlaid with silver, from Mr W. Cunningham's collection, does not bear the maker's name, but is similar in style to the Doune pistols. Among the other interesting weapons exhibited are an old Highland dirk and sheath from Kilchurn Castle, given to Lord Breadalbane by Miss Campbell, one of the family relatives; a dirk found at Stronlachan, Killin, where, in the middle of the sixteenth century, a battle was fought between the Campbells and the Macdonalds of Keppoch; a Highland basket-hilted sword, by Ferrara, having long and very broad blade, found in the battlefield of Falkirk, and lent by Mr R. Glen; a dagger brass-mounted (late 15th century), a heavy single-edged blade in raw leather sheath with stamped ornament, from Stirlingshire, lent by Mr C. E. Whitelaw; and a silver-mounted dirk bearing the inscription—"Dr Currie, of Edinburgh: To his friend Robert Burns, Jan. 29, 1780." Of some local interest are a helmet and body-piece of old Scottish chain armour which belonged to Bruce of Kinnaid, the African traveller, lent by Miss Helen Cherry, Stirling. This section of the

Exhibition also contains a number of beautiful powder-horns. One, lent by the Smith Institute Trustees, is a round horn dated 1720, beautifully carved in the same style as the Celtic crosses, but not a purely Celtic ornamentation. The carving represents a pretty deer-hunting scene, the deer-stalker carrying a flintlock gun. Another powder-horn, dated 1780, also comes from the Smith Institute. It is flat and shows two baronial castles, skilfully carved. Curiously enough, another flat powder-horn from Stirling, lent by Mr John Johnstone, Baker Street, shows the same design. It is dated 1708, and bears the Mackenzie arms.

Section X., "Dress and Domestic Objects," comprises a large variety of miscellaneous articles, of which only a few need be noticed here. Among the Scottish oak chairs are two from Stirling Castle, lent by the Trustees of the Smith Institute. They belong to the middle of the seventeenth century. The backs exhibit the usual carved top rail and uprights with spiralled legs, the centre-part being filled in with cane-work. The Glasgow Archaeological Society send a carved oak armchair from the parish of Killearn, said to have been the property of near relatives of George Buchanan, the historian. Another chair belonging to this famous Stirlingshire man, restored by the late Sir W. Fraser, is lent by Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P., who also sends an oak press with marqueterie panels, formerly in the Palace of Stirling Castle, and known as Queen Anne's press. This was Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI. From Alloa House comes "Lady Mar's Nursing Chair." A curiosity which has a special interest for draught-players is an old draught-board man from our Smith Institute. It is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in circumference, and shows a man's face on one side and a crown on the other. When the piece got into the crown-head in the course of play, it would be turned and thus become a crowned man. The term "man" for the pieces on the draught-board probably comes from the circumstance that they originally showed a man's face on one side, just as the term "grey-beard" comes from the head with long beard to be seen on some old jars, now very rare. (We observed only one in the present Exhibition.) This old draught-man, which is made of earthenware, was picked up by Mr Sword in a small

country village. The exhibits in Section X. include a silver circular plaid brooch, dated 1710, from Loch Vennachar side; a horn, dated 1654, which was used in former times at Drummond Castle to summon the guests to dinner; a silver-mounted quaich made from the Wallace oak in the Torwood, and inscribed, "Ex dono Davidis Dale Gulielmo Clydesdale, 1794"; and a pair of Highland brogues made by the hereditary brogue-maker of Balquhiddier.

Section XI., "Charms Superstitions, Torture, Punishment," is a somewhat similar collection to that seen in the Bishop's Palace of the Exhibition of 1888, but perhaps a little more extensive. Only one of the charms shown here is of local interest. This is "Cowane's Taed-Stane" (stupidly printed *Laid-Stane* even in the second edition of the Catalogue), an amulet which is said to have belonged to the founder of Cowane's Hospital, Stirling. It was used as a charm for the cure of diseased cattle, and the entry in the Catalogue states that its superstitious use had become so notorious that in the Session Books of the parish of St Ninians there is a minute prohibiting the use of the charm as being one of Satan's wiles to lead God's people astray. The amulet is lent by the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright Museum Association, and, no doubt, this is the legend that accompanied the gift of the charm, but as to the truth of the story we have considerable doubt. In April, 1888, Cowane's Taed-Stane (or Toad-Stone) was submitted to a meeting of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, along with a correspondence between the Rev. Dr Robertson, St Ninians, and the Secretary of the Kirkcudbright Association, giving the history of the relic as far as known. The Transactions of the local Society bear that the late Mr John Archibald, Session-Clerk, had informed Dr Robertson that he had never come across any entry in the book referring to the stone, and that Mr A. F. Hutchison had not met with any such reference in his search through at least seven of the volumes, yet the assertion is repeated in the Exhibition Catalogue as if it had never been called in question! Cowane's Taed-Stane is correctly described in the local Archaeological Society's Transactions as "apparently a round

pebble about the size of a broad bean, in an old-fashioned and rather worn setting of silver, with an eye or eyelet through which a chain can be passed." The history of the charm is given as follows:—"The Taedstane was apparently an heirloom in the Cowane family, and must have passed down from generation to generation. It is next heard of in 1859, when it was in the possession of the postmaster of Kirkcudbright, who inherited it from his mother, Marion Cowane, a lineal descendant of the founder of the Hospital, through whom, again, it could be traced to her great-grandfather. After 1859 it passed into the hands of the Rev. Mr Underwood, parish minister of Kirkcudbright, and on his death in 1886, came into the possession of the Archæological Society, who now hold it." It is a pity this narrative does not mention who Marion Cowane's great-grandfather was, but it is safe to say that neither he nor she was a lineal descendant of John Cowane, who died a bachelor. It is possible, however, that Marion Cowane's great-grandfather may have been descended from one of John Cowane's illegitimate children, but this would not prove that the Taed-Stane was an heirloom in the Cowane family. We take leave to doubt the alleged connection of the charm with John Cowane, if no better evidence of the fact can be adduced. On the occasion referred to, the local Archæological Society remitted to Mr M'Lellan, then English Master in the High School, and the Rev. Dr Robertson, to search the Guildry Records for any entry bearing upon the Toad-Stone, and the St Ninians Kirk Session Records for the entry above referred to, and at the same time Mr R. Kidston was authorised to place the charm in the hands of a practised mineralogist to determine whether the pebble was foreign or native, a suggestion having been made that it might have been brought from the East by some palmer, through whom it passed to the Cowane family. The results of these investigations were to be reported to the following meeting of the Society, but there is no record of any such report. We may add, however, that as far as we know, the Guildry Records contain no reference to Cowane's Toad-Stone, and we suspect the whole thing is a myth so far as the Cowane family is concerned.

The instruments of punishment in this Section include several lent by the Town Council of Stirling. These are the burgh stocks, the ankle bar, and the jongs, all of which were shown at the Exhibition of 1888. As on that occasion, the Stirling jongs are the most interesting of all the exhibits of this old mode of punishment. The apparatus, which is said to have been attached to the Mercat Cross, consists of an iron collar,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, with a hinge at the back or top to open for admitting the neck. Attached to the collar are two flat iron bars, about 3 ft. 2 in. long, which lie close together. About half-way down two similar bars are welded on, which are bent into rings to catch the wrists, and can be opened by hinges. These bars are prolonged to the same length as the main centre bars, and lie close to them. At the bottom of the bars is a hole to admit of the passage of an iron rod, which carried ring fetters as well, and the whole was locked up by a padlock. The Stirling jongs, however, wants the iron rod and fetters. This invention was not merely a means of securing a prisoner, but it was a torture as well. In the ordinary form of jongs, the prisoner could stand upright, and was otherwise free to move, unless he was secured by the ankles also, as was sometimes done. But in this form the head was kept bent forward, the wrists were held tight, the feet were fastened, and the whole figure was contracted into a length of barely four feet. After a very short time, the constraint of such a position must have become excruciatingly painful, for there was no possibility of relief. Among the other specimens of jongs in the Exhibition, is a set from Stirlingshire—which part of the county is not



mentioned—lent by the Corporation of Glasgow. The Stirling gad, or ankle bar, is a great bar three feet long, with a hammered head. On this is slipped an iron ring to encircle the ankle. A hole at the end of the bar receives a padlock, which is of huge dimension, to correspond with the bar itself. It was a similar instrument to this which in England was called the bilboes, a specimen of which may be seen in the Tower of London. It, however, is not so massive as the Stirling ankle-bar, but it has the ring for the ankles sliding upon the rod, and it is fastened up in the usual way by a curious flat padlock. These particulars of the jongs and ankle-bar are taken from "Scottish National Memorials," the handsome work published to illustrate the contents of the Bishop's Palace at the last Exhibition. The Stirling burgh stocks consist of two heavy wooden beams about 12 feet long, and furnished with a hinge at one end and a locking apparatus at the other. The ankle-holes are cut half in the lower and half in the upper beam. The stocks were long lost sight of, but were found about a dozen years ago, along with the gallows, in a lumber room above the police office in Broad Street. The Stirling hangman's "caup" (misprinted "cap" in the Exhibition Catalogue) is also in Section XI. We give an illustration of this wooden vessel with cover, which was



carried round the market by the hangman, or staffman, one of whose emoluments was a caup-ful of grain, a handful, or rather "gowpen," which

was the fill of the two hands held together in concave fashion, being taken from each sack brought into the market until the caup was full. The internal diameter of the bowl at the point where the lid closes on to it is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in., and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. deep, giving a capacity of 4.37 imperial pints. In Kelso, a ladle (also exhibited here) was used for the same purpose. The axe used at the execution of Baird and Hardie, and the mask of sackcloth worn by the executioner, have been lent by the Trustees of the Smith Institute, but we think it is pandering to a somewhat morbid taste to exhibit these grim relics.

"Old Glasgow" is illustrated in Section XII., and one need not expect to find much here that is locally interesting. Still, there are a few things worth mentioning. A valuable series of views executed about 1760 in the famous Academy of the brothers Foulis, includes one of the Parliament Hall of Stirling Castle, showing some of the original architectural features which have been destroyed by modern alterations. A water-colour drawing of the ancient town-house of the noble family of Montrose, by A. D. Robertson, 1840, has been lent by the Duke of Montrose, while another drawing of the house, by the same artist in sepia, is from the collection of Mr John W. L. Macfarlane. The portraits in this section include two (one being a miniature) of Sir John Moore, whose father, Dr Moore, was a "Son of the Rock." Among the miscellaneous articles we noticed a Stirling burgess certificate in favour of John Spreull, dated 11th March, 1720, and having appended the old burgh seal. Also, a Glasgow copy of the Stirling Jug, to which reference will be made later, and a guinea note and a pound note of the Falkirk Union Bank, 1811, which are shown here on the strength of their having been at one time in circulation in Glasgow. On the same footing there might have been a representation of old Stirling bank notes, which it is not difficult to procure.

Section XIII.—"Scottish Burghs, Incorporations, and Masonry"—is, more than any other, indebted to Stirling for interesting exhibits. The great majority of these, however, were shown in the last Glasgow Exhibition, and the Archæological Committee might easily have obtained other relics

of burghal life. The silver keys of Aberdeen are in this section, but not the silver keys of Stirling. The Stirling Jug makes its reappearance, along with a number of duplicates from other burghs. It would be interesting to know how many of these duplicates are still in existence. We are aware that the following towns have them, viz.:—Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunfermline, Dumfries, Dysart, St Andrews, Kinghorn, and Linlithgow. Are there any more? There were thirty-four duplicates of the Stirling Jug distributed among the free burghs of Scotland in 1622, so that twenty-six remain unaccounted for. Some burghs may possess copies of the Stirling Jug without knowing it. Dumfries, for example, sends to this Exhibition what are called in the Catalogue, "Standard Weights and Measures, time of Queen Anne," but what is denominated an English half-gallon measure is a duplicate of the Stirling Jug! Linlithgow, again, shows a set of brass or bronze old Scotch liquor measures, including a copy of the Stirling Jug, which is not specially mentioned, and may not be known to the burgh authorities. We may point out here a mistake which is made in our local histories and guide-books in describing the original Stirling Jug. It is said that under the lower shield showing the curious figure resembling an ape *passant* there is the letter "S," which, it is suggested, may be the initial of the surname of some foreign artist employed to fabricate the vessel. There is, however, no such letter on the original measure, but it will be found in the position named on all the copies of the jug, "S" standing for "Stirling." This stamp ought to help the identification of duplicates which are at present unknown. We shall be glad to hear of any new discoveries. The Stirling duplicates of the original standard ell measure and the firiot, along with the local set of standard measures of Queen Anne's time, are to be seen in this section. The Corporation of Glasgow send a copy of the Cragengelt weight, the original of which they were kind enough to present to Stirling on the suggestion of the present writer, and we think the Archaeological Committee ought to have asked for the loan of the original for the Exhibition. It is a curious fact that a doubtful part of the inscription on the bell-shaped weight,

which is labelled a tron stone weight, comes out better in the cast than in the original, and it appears more probable than before that the last two words are "*Johanes Cochren*," the maker adding his name in its Latin form.

In addition to six of the famous Stirling Heads and impressions of the ancient seal of Stirling, our Town Council send a duplicate of David the Second's charter to the Burgh, dated at Scone, 27th October, 1360—the original, by the way, is dated the 26th—a precept of Francis and Mary, dated 10th May, 1590, commanding the confirmation of a charter; a letter from James VI. about a witch, dated 16th September, 1597; a letter from General Monk, dated 23rd November, 1656; and a letter from the Town Council of Glasgow, dated 17th September, 1652, relative to a great fire. All these documents, we think, appear in the printed volumes of the Burgh Records. From the Stirling Guildry comes John Cowane's Chest, now furnished with a fine brass plate giving its history. The origin of the verse inscribed on the front of the chest has not yet been discovered. We take it to be an old Scots paraphrase of a verse of one of the Psalms.

A burgh relic which was not shown in the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888, is the old oil lamp which lighted our streets before gas. Two of these lamps have been lent by the Trustees of the Smith Institute, and we give a sketch of this



light of other days. It is a very simple affair, consisting of a shallow circular pan, four inches in diameter, for the oil, and two pipe-shaped openings for the rash which was placed in the oil, the two ends, brought through the openings, giving forth a very feeble light. Our own specimen has two reversed S's stamped on the bottom. We may give some particulars, hitherto unpublished, of how the town was lighted by means of these oil lamps, which were hung up on iron hooks driven into the walls of houses, mostly, we should suppose, at street corners. In early times bowwats, or hand-lanterns, were carried by the citizens when they walked abroad after nightfall, and there were certain regulations for their use. The printed minutes of the Town Council show that it was in 1736 the Council considered proposals for furnishing the town with lamps; that the two lamplighters were paid £12 (Scots) each for the lighting season, and got frocks of twilling to wear while lighting the lamps, probably to protect their clothes from the oil; that they were also paid £1 16s for taking down the lamps at the end of the lighting season; and that two lanthorns for lighting the lamps cost 18s. At a later period (1786) the Council found it advisable to contract with a Glasgow man for the public lighting of Stirling, and from this contract we learn that the lighting season did not begin until the end of October, that the lamps were lighted on only twenty-two nights during the winter—no doubt the moon was even more liberally allowed for than it used to be by the local Gas Company—and that each lighted lamp cost the Corporation the sum of 2s 9d sterling. A gas lamp to-day costs 32s, and an electric arc lamp £18 per annum. The contractor for the lighting of the burgh in 1786 was bound to uphold and leave sufficient the lamps provided by the Council, and take over the oil in hand at prime cost. The number of lamps is not stated.

The Trustees of the Smith Institute also send a beggar's badge of the parish of Weem, and there are a number of such badges shown here belonging to other parishes and burghs in Scotland. It is a singular thing that a Stirling beggar's badge has never been seen—at least, Mr Sword, the curator of the Smith Institute, informs us that he has not succeeded in laying his hands on one, despite exten-

sive inquiry. It is certain the beggars of Stirling were furnished with badges, like their neighbours, as our Council records contain descriptions of two distinct kinds of these badges. The beggars, indeed, seem to have had a recognised corporate existence, as one of the most curious of our local records is "The Last Will and Testament of the Begging Poor of Stirling." A copy of this unique document, which we came across in our local searches, will be given in the "Stirling Antiquary" column at some future time. The tattered flag of the Skinners' Incorporation, presented to the Smith Institute by the Misses Cherry, is appropriately exhibited in this section, but the entry in the Catalogue is somewhat imperfect. While it is true that the motto painted on the flag has proved a puzzle to Latin scholars, it has been satisfactorily interpreted by no less a scholar than the Rev. John Anderson, assistant curator of the Historical Department of H.M. Register House. It turns out to be Spanish, not Latin. As will be seen by anyone looking at the flag, the upper part on which the inscription is painted is of canvas, the lower part being of white and blue silk patchwork. The canvas had apparently formed part of a bale of *perpetuana*, a kind of cloth manufactured in Stirling and elsewhere in the seventeenth century. It is not clear whether *perpetuana* was linen or woollen, but it formed a suitable material for ladies' dresses. Charles II., whose arms are painted on the canvas, granted power to establish a company for the manufacture of this among other kinds of cloth, and the Act of Parliament forbids anyone not connected with the Company to carry such stuffs to Spain, Portugal, or other countries named. The inscription—

FINISMO PERPET

VANNO

is simply the Spanish for "Finest *Perpetuana*," and the old flag is consequently an interesting relic, not only of the skimmers' craft, but also of the Weavers' Incorporation of Stirling. The letter "R," below the royal arms and above the inscription, probably stands for "Rex," or its Spanish equivalent, "Rey."

Another interesting local relic in the Exhibition is the oldest picture of Stirling, which Mr John Shearer happily secured at an auction sale in

Edinburgh some time ago. It has already been described in our columns, and we need only mention that a miniature fac-simile of the painting—a beautiful process block—will appear in Messrs Macle hose & Sons' memorial volume of the Fine Arts and Historical Loan Collections in the Exhibition. In this connection may also be mentioned twenty-four drawings of Scottish market crosses by Mr J. W. Small, the originals of some of the plates contained in the sumptuous volume recently published by Mr E. Mackay, Stirling. In the "Old Glasgow" department of Section XIII. are shown three letters from Charles II. to the Magistrates of Glasgow, two dated from Stirling, and the third from the royal camp near Larbert. These were written at a time when the King was sorely in need of money to pay his troops. He seems to have asked the Glasgow Corporation for £500 sterling, but only got £100. No doubt, however, they sent the thirty sufficient carters, twenty workmen, and eight carts that were wanted at Larbert in 1651. The ecclesiastical relics include the early communion plate of Erskine Church, Stirling, now preserved in the Smith Institute. These consist of a large flagon, a small flagon, and two cups, and belong to the time when the Rev. Robert Campbell (1766-1803) was the minister of the church. There is also a pulpit sandglass from the Smith Institute, open at the top so that the sand could be increased or diminished according to the time the preacher wished to be indicated. This glass was used to make sure, not that the minister did not preach too long, but that he preached long enough. An inscribed lead bulla, or seal, from Dunblane (1492-1503), is lent by Mr C. E. Whitelaw.

Ed.

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AUTHORESSES IN THE FAMILY OF STIRLING  
OF KIPPENDAVIE.

DEAR SIR,—I find it stated in Anderson's "Scottish Nation" (iii. 522) that John Stirling of Kippendavie married Mary, second daughter of William Graham, Esq., of Airth Castle, and had a son Patrick, who married, in 1810, Catherine Georgina, second daughter of John Wedderburn,

Esq., Jamaica. Patrick died in 1860, leaving issue, two sons and one daughter. The elder of these sons, John Stirling, Esq., of Kippendavie, J.P., born in 1811, married, in 1839, Catherine Mary, only child of the Rev. John Wellings, by Mary Wedderburn, his wife. As issue of this marriage, John Stirling had three sons and one daughter. So far Anderson, and, presumably, authentic history.

I come now to a stage in the Stirling genealogy where conjecture and recollection take the place of printed evidence, and in which I hope that you or some of your readers may be able to afford me information. For the sake of securing definite information, either confirmatory or contradictory, I put my conjectures into the form of queries:—

- I.—Did John Stirling's daughter marry Geo. Kellie M'Callum, Esq., Braco Castle, formerly captain in the 92nd Highlanders?
- II.—Was her name Mary Catherine Stirling?
- III.—Did she write certain tales or stories under the designation of "M. C. Stirling"?
- IV.—Allibone attributes "Prince Arthur, or The Four Trials" (one of the *Rose-Bud Stories* series) to "Catherine Mary Stirling." Is this a mistake for "Mary Catherine Stirling"?
- V.—Were there not other stories written by M. C. Stirling?
- VI.—Is it the case that some of M. C. Stirling's works were wrongly attributed to Mrs Stirling, the actress?

Information on all or any of the above queries will greatly oblige, your obedient servant,  
Stirling, July 18th, 1901. W. S.

[The kindness of a friend, who has taken the trouble to obtain exact information, enables us to answer the above queries as follows:—

- I.—Yes.
- II.—Yes.
- III.—Yes. She is still writing.
- IV.—"Prince Arthur" was written by Catherine Mary Stirling, wife of John Stirling, and mother of Mrs Kellie M'Callum.
- V.—M. C. Stirling wrote "Princes of Silverland," "A True Man," "Home with Honour," "Graham of Invermoy."
- VI.—Never heard of this.]

THE OLD INSCRIPTION ON THE GOWAN  
HILLS.

At a meeting of the Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society held on Tuesday evening, 24th December, 1901—Mr W. B. Cook, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair—Mr James Henderson, F.S.A. (Scot.), made a statement regarding the supposed Roman inscription on the Gowan Hills. Mr Henderson, who had seen a cast of the inscription and a photograph of the cast, though not the inscribed rock itself, was of opinion that the inscription did not belong to the Roman period at all, but to mediæval times. Passing over the two letters D. F. at the top, he read the lines thus—

IN · EXCO · JHANIS  
LE · PALMARI

The interpretation suggested was "In Excambion of John Palmer." He founded his rejection of the inscription as Roman on the shape of the letters, and he identified John le Palmar as a Bailie of Stirling in 1379, whose name appeared in the public records up till 1429. The Rev. Dr Thomson took exception to Mr Henderson's statement regarding the shape of the letters, saying he had found these in genuine Roman inscriptions, and also pointed out that "Palmar" could not be the genitive form of "Palmar." [The Exchequer Rolls give the name in every case, except the vocative, the genitive form being "Palmare," but in no instance does "Palmar" appear.] Dr Thomson also deprecated depending on photographs in deciphering inscriptions, as from his own experience he had found photographs very deceptive in cases of this kind. The Chairman, referring to a mark of Mr Henderson's that he hoped the Society would not hastily stamp out his reading of the inscription, said that all the members would be only too glad to accept any new light on an admittedly obscure subject, their sole object being to discover the truth; but, on the other hand, the old tradition that this was a Roman inscription

could not be set aside unless there was the clearest evidence to prove it to be without foundation. Was there such clear evidence in this case? He did not think there was. He could assure Mr Henderson that every letter of the inscription had its counterpart in undoubted Roman inscriptions, whatever their meaning might be, and as for "Excambio," there was certainly an old Latin word "excambium" of which the ablative would be "excambio," but the mediæval contraction "Exco" represented "Excommunicatio," a very different word altogether. With regard to the intrusion of the French "le" into a Scottish name so late as the end of the fourteenth century, he thought Mr Henderson would not succeed in finding an instance either in the Burgh Records or the Exchequer Rolls. But allowing, for the sake of argument, that Mr Henderson was right in attributing this inscription to the middle ages, he would require to adduce a good deal more in support of his reading than the name of Bailie John Palmer. It required at least two persons to make an excambion. Who was the other man, and why was his name not on the rock, a most unlikely place for a note of such a transaction? Another question was — What was excambied? And still another — When did the excambion take place? Surely the date of an affair of this kind was too important to omit from the inscription. He was afraid Mr Henderson had come to a rather hasty conclusion which further study would show to be wrong. He was sure that Mr Henderson, who was an experienced antiquary, would take their criticisms in the friendly spirit in which they were offered. Ex-Bailie Ronald said it was impossible that the stone could mark any excambion of the period mentioned, as in the days of John Palmer, to which Mr Henderson referred, the whole of the Gowan Hills belonging to the inhabitants of the town, and it was in no man's power to exchange them. They were common land then, had been so from time immemorial, and so continued till the date of the Great Excambion in the beginning of the 16th century. Mr Henderson, in replying to the discussion, said that it was possible the particulars desiderated by Mr Cook might be contained in the part of the inscription which had not yet been deciphered. He was glad his

remarks had provoked so much criticism, which he took in the true antiquarian spirit. He would be glad if this discussion resulted in the discovery of the true meaning of this inscription which had baffled antiquaries so long, and he hoped the members of the Society would approach the matter with open minds unprejudiced in favour of old, but apparently inaccurate readings. The Chairman, in name of the Society, thanked Mr Henderson for his labours in this matter, for which all were indebted to him, and said that while the members were prepared to approach the question without prejudice, it would be unwise to adopt any new reading which would not bear the strictest scrutiny, and which there was not sufficient evidence to support. This concluded the business.

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#### FACT OR FABLE?

There is no doubt that there are papers in private charter rooms which are capable of confuting some very generally accepted stories in standard history books. But we doubt greatly if we are on the scent of any such paper at the present moment. The inventory of the heritable and moveable estate of the late Mr Stuart of Laithers, Aberdeenshire, and Inchbreck, Kincardineshire, has been lodged with the Sheriff-Clerk of Aberdeenshire, and we learn that the bequests received by his son, Mr John Stuart, "include a gold ring containing the hair of Prince Charles Edward and his brother Henry, Duke of York, presented by Prince Charles to one of Mr Stuart's ancestors; also an Andrea Ferrara claymore, which belonged to the Prince; the original diary kept by Mr Stuart's great grand-uncle, Captain Stuart, of the campaign ending at Culloden; and the two-handled sword used by David Stuart of Inchbreck with which he slew the Earl of Huntly at the battle of Corrichie on 20th October, 1502."

It is with this last statement that we are at present concerned. The authority for it, doubtless, is a statement made by Mr Alexander Stuart,

of Inchbreck, in the biographical notice of his father prefixed to Professor Stuart's *Antiquarian Essays* published in 1846, that David Stuart, the first of the Inchbreck family, "is said to have distinguished himself" at the battle of Corrichie, "by having killed with his two-handed sword, still preserved in the family, the noble chief of the opposite party." It will be observed that what Mr Stuart mentions as a mere tradition appears in the above inventory as a statement of fact. This is an example of how fable gets mixed up with authentic history. It would be very interesting to know if the representatives of the hero have any documentary evidence in favour of this tradition, for the accepted histories are against it. The battle took place in 1562 (on 22nd October, by the way). Knox, who was contemporary, and who, as it will appear, wrote his history not more than seven years after, says:—"The Erie himself was taken alyve; his two . . . sons war tacken with him. The Erie immediatlie after his tacken departed this lyiff without any wound, or yitt appearance of any strock, whair of death might have ensued." (ii. 357). Calderwood, who when treating of this period somewhat later is largely a copyist of Knox, adopts the same version of the Earl's death, with additions:—"The father being old, and of short breath, becaus he was grosse and corpulent, expired in the hands of his takers. There was no wound, nor appearance of anie deadlie stroke." (ii. 199). But the historians do not leave the circumstances of Huntly's death without adding that because it happened late in the evening the body was "cassen over-thorte a pair of crealles, and so was caryed to Abirdene, and was laid in the Tolbuyth thairof, that the response whiche his wyffis wytches had gevin might be fulfilled, whay all affirmed (as the most part say) that that same nycht should he be in the Tolbuyth of Abirdene without any wound upon his body." (Knox, *ut sup.*) The Countess had thought the witches meant that the Earl would be safe back, scatheless and alive, but these ladies now affirmed that they knew he would be dead, and that what they had predicted had come true. What fixes the date at which Knox related the story is the characteristic observation with which he leaves

the subject:—"Scho was angrye and sorye for a seassone, but the Devill, the Messe, and wyttches have als great credyte of hir this day as thei had sevin yearis ago." In one of the MSS. of Knor's History (MS. of the date "12th June, 1566," elsewhere on the margin, is inserted in the text).

It is, of course, quite a debateable question whether the story of the saving of the witches' credit corroborates the assertion that the Earl died from natural causes. But both historians agree that he was excessively corpulent, and in a state of health which not only rendered him unfit for war, but made him personally a foeman scarcely worthy of a warrior's steel.

Edinburgh.

J. H. S.

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#### A VANISHED STIRLINGSHIRE DOCKYARD.

The parish of Airth and village of that name, though easy enough of access and not far from large centres of industry, is an outlying little nook of Scotland, and but seldom visited, we should imagine, by the ordinary tourist. Its north-eastern side is washed along its whole extent, by the waters of the River Forth, across which the enterprising pedestrian or bicyclist can be ferried at two places either to Alloa or to Kincardine. The river now flows within artificially constructed banks about half a mile from the village, showing a long stretch of reclaimed land not very interesting to look at, though probably very valuable in itself. In days gone by it was very different; then the river, with a greater body of water in it than it has now, came up nearly to the doors of the houses; for at least two hundred and fifty years it was a scene of considerable commercial activity in the way of shipping; now it is asleep, none the less attractive, perhaps, on that account, but still as sound asleep as one of the dead cities of the Zuyder Zee. The founder of the Scottish Navy was, as all students of Scottish History know, the gallant King, of charming personality, but luckless fate, James IV. From

1500 till the day of his death he laboured hard to bring up his Navy to the best standard of his day, or even beyond it. He built the Great Michael, of which old Pitcottie gives us a graphic and comparatively veracious account; how the woods of Scotland were "wastit" to provide material; how her sides were ten feet thick of solid oak; and how she was manned by 3000 seamen and 1000 marines. This monster was built at Newhaven, a place which also owes its origin to James' enthusiasm for shipbuilding. But one dockyard was not enough when ships had to be constructed and multiplied as fast as possible. A more remote situation, but one safer from the attacks of any foreign vessels which might be cruising about, was found in the upper reaches of the Forth, just where the estuary and real Firth of Forth begins and the river, after meandering in countless links along a level carse suddenly broadens and deepens, preparatory to joining the waters of the salt sea to the east. It was then at Airth that the King fixed his new dockyards; the Pow or Poo, as it is locally called, a name allied to the English Pool and the Celtic Pwl, is a streamlet (it cannot be dignified with the name of a river) which rises near Bannockburn and now enters the Forth about three-quarters of a mile to the east of the village of Airth. In earlier days it must have taken a somewhat different course and passed nearer the village than it now does; but it has left a name for itself, and a scanty dribble of water which hardly comes up to the mark of a ditch is still called "the auld Poo," in contrast to the more modern edition which is termed the "fishing Poo." James and his engineers saw that the mouth of this rivulet might be used to purpose. It lay convenient to Stirling, from which it was only eight miles distant. The channel of the Forth was sufficiently deep to allow quite large vessels to come up as far, indeed the Great Michael herself after she was launched felt her way cautiously, preceded by a pilot with a sounding line to test the depths, nearly if not quite up to the Pool of Airth, or Polerth, as it was indiscriminately called. Robert Callendar, Constable of Stirling Castle, was appointed Master of the Works, and proceeded in 1511 to excavate the docks, and we may presume the work was of con-

siderable magnitude, as stabling was built for no less than fifty horses. Not only so, but he probably settled down in the place the better to look after operations, as he and his wife got a lease of nine bovates of land there. It is interesting to note that after the lapse of four hundred years there are still Callendars in Airth, and a very worthy old inhabitant whom we found living within twenty yards of the old docks, and to whom we are indebted for much local information, bore this name. Under Robert Callendar's supervision the works went on apace, and though we do not know exactly what ships were built for the Scottish Navy in these dockyards, we have frequent notices in contemporary records of the Royal men of war lying in them to be refitted or made ready for sea. The James and Margaret, two ships named after the King and Queen, are often mentioned as having been in Airth docks, and in all probability it was to that port that the ships came which bore Margaret Tudor in her journeys from Edinburgh to Stirling, when she made that move by water and not by land. Her husband was too restless a mortal to feel happy on a protracted voyage, and though we read of him sailing to the Isle of May and other places in the Firth of Forth, he generally preferred to ride when riding was possible.

But all the ships built at Airth, Newhaven, and elsewhere were doomed, like him at whose instigation they had been built, to misfortune. In 1513 they sailed away under the incompetent command of the Earl of Arran, and though he was replaced by Sir Andrew Wood, the change was made too late, and the fleet, as Mr Andrew Lang says, "vanishes into fairyland." The Great Michael herself was sold in France within two years of her launching, and Buchanan tells that she rotted in the harbour of Brest. Meanwhile though naval armaments may have been stopped, the docks at Airth were not useless. The port was convenient and central, and a considerable amount of trade was attracted to it, and not a few vessels were built in its docks, though for more peaceful destinations than formerly. In 1745 more excitement prevailed in the place than had been since the last of James IV's fleet had sailed away. The Prince's troops

had managed to erect some small batteries of cannon at Airth and Dunmore, and these the Hanoverian fleet, which had been sent for the purpose, failed to silence; whereupon the commanders, finding their efforts ineffectual, dropped down the river with the tide, burning all the vessels lying near to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy and being used as transports. The loss of these vessels, we are told by the excellent minister who wrote the account of the parish for Sir John Sinclair in 1791, was severely felt by the trading people in Airth, and trade departed to Carronshore and Grangemouth, where it still remains.

And so Airth sleeps to-day, but it is the sleep of a place which has done its duty in its time, and it is a mere accident that it is not now, instead of Grangemouth, the active shipping centre of the district. Even beyond the time of the rebellion shipbuilding was by no means extinct, and the recollections of it are retained in vivid tradition at the present time, but the reclaiming of the land from the Forth and the embanking of the latter river, which took place about 130 years ago, must have struck it a hard blow. But the visitor can still trace the remains in grass-covered dykes of Robert Callendar's docks, and there is still an excellent inhabited dwelling which is said to have been in latter times the harbourmaster's house. And shorewards stands the old village, not, perhaps, the very "town" in which James' shipwrights slept and dined, but yet sufficiently ancient and picturesque, with some quaint houses dated 1706, a really fine "cross" with the armorial bearings of Bruce and Elphinstone on it, and above all, with orchards and gardens and trees on every side, making it an abode of rest and peace. Within one old garden there is a very curious old thorn tree; its trunk, of considerable thickness, is about four feet high; when young the tender branches have at that point been trained outwards and then upwards till it has now assumed the shape of a cone; this conical or rather pear-shaped portion of the tree encloses a space sufficient to accommodate some half-dozen people who in spring may sit enveloped in an impenetrable curtain of snowy blossom and, if of a Darwinian turn of mind, may meditate on a state of ancestry when existence was "probably

arboreal." It is, indeed, a very old and very quaint tree, possibly unique in Great Britain, certainly we should say in Scotland. It is so ancient that one almost fancies the gay King James sitting among its branches, cracking a bottle of Bordeaux or dinking a homely can of ale with Robert Callendar, and hearing from Jacat Terrell, his French shipwright, how the outfitting of the vessels in the adjacent docks was getting on. Then, after drinking his "modest quencher" (for James has the credit of having been a temperate man though fond of pleasure), he would leap on his horse without putting foot in stirrup and with jingling bridle and clanking spur gallop hard to Stirling where John Damian, the Italian alchemist, was waiting for him to try experiments towards the discovery of "quinta essencia," or George Campbell, the gardener, would be inquiring what seeds he was to plant in the new garden of the Castle.

And above the village on the high ground, which rises abruptly from its street, within range of the clang of hammers in the busy dockyard and the song of the seamen as they raised the towering masts on board the King's ships, stood the Castle then, but rising a new building on the site of an older one which had been burned in the troublous times which ended with the battle of Sauchieburn. We learn from the Treasurer's accounts that shortly after the accession of James £100 was paid to "Rob Brus of Ertht to the byggin of his place that was byrnt." It is doubtful whether any part of the present castle dates from the time of this rebuilding, but there are two towers of quite respectable antiquity to one of which still clings a tradition of Sir William Wallace. But that redoubtable warrior, it is certain, never saw any part of the buildings now standing, to which has been added in the taste of a late period "an elegant Gothic front," which calls to the irreverent mind the outside of Paisley jail. Adjoining it are the fine ruins of the old Parish Kirk, in the precincts of which lie the mortal remains of many Bruces, Elphinstones, and others who took a prominent part in the stirring times in which they lived. From all this we may see that Airth had its day in the history of Scotland.

Edinburgh..

J. B. P.

## OLD AXE HEAD FOUND IN STIRLING.



In the course of the excavations on the site of the three old houses in Baker Street now occupied by Lawson Limited's new premises, an axe head was found embedded in the rotten rock below the foundations of the old building, and by the courtesy of Dr Drew, who has possession of the "find" and whose interest in antiquarian relics is well known, we are enabled to give a sketch of it. The axe is very much corroded, and its original dimensions were probably greater than they now appear. The blade measures  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the edge, including the socket for the handle, and the edge, which is slightly curved, is 10 inches long. It may have been a woodcutter's axe or a flesher's, although its shape does not resemble that of the modern axes. Perhaps it is old enough to have been the burgh headsmen's axe, but judging from the heading axe of St Andrews, which was shown in the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888, it is rather small for such a purpose. The edge of the St Andrews axe is about the same length, but the measurement from the blade to the handle is not less than  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches, or nearly double that of the Stirling specimen, and altogether the weapon is a much more powerful-looking affair than that illustrated above. At the same time, there is room for speculation as to the use of this curiously-shaped axe, and the circumstance that it was found not far from the place where a human skull was dug out, gives the two "finds" a rather gruesome suggestiveness.

THE OLDEST MINUTE BOOK OF THE  
STIRLING INCORPORATION OF  
HAMMERMEN (1596—1621).\*

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By way of introduction to a description of the material composition and contents of the venerable volume now exhibited, a short account may be given of the Trade Incorporation to which it belongs. The printed Records of our Burgh contain a notice of the craftsmen as far back as 1460, but it may be surmised that local craft or trade guilds were in existence at an even earlier period than the middle of the fifteenth century. My friend, Mr Ebenezer Bain, in his *History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades*, says that "Deacons or Masters of the Craft are known to have been general in all the leading burghs in Scotland about 1424, but it is impossible to fix the precise date at which any particular Craft formed an association with 'ane wise man of the Craft' at its head." The burgesses in whose favour our ancient royal charters were granted, comprised the whole of the legally-recognised male inhabitants of the place, and it was owing to the conflicting interests of merchandise and handicraft that these burgesses became separated into merchant and craft guilds. This separation had apparently taken place before the date of our oldest extant charter—that of Alexander II., dated 1226—which grants "to our said burgesses of Strivelyn that they shall have a merchant guild, except the waulkers and weavers." Why fullers and weavers were excluded from the merchant guild is not explained, but the fact shows that the merchants were desirous of securing a monopoly of dealing or selling, and of confining the craftsmen to their particular crafts. In consequence of this exclusive spirit, which provoked a constant warfare between the merchants and the crafts, the Trade Incorporations came into existence, and it may be surmised that the clothmakers, of whom the merchants were most jealous, were the first to form a craft guild. Their example was followed by the other crafts, and by the reign of James I.

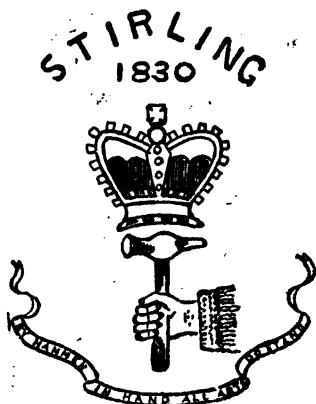
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\* Paper read by the Editor before the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, 26th November, 1901.

the separation between merchant and craftsman was so complete as to be recognised in Acts of Parliament. At first the craft guilds were private societies, but ultimately they obtained public recognition, and their proceedings were regulated by the Legislature. The first mention of trade deacons occurs in an Act of James I., dated 12th March, 1424, but the office of Deacon-Convener was never formally recognised by law in the same manner. About 1520, Mr Bain informs us, it became common in the leading burghs in Scotland for the Magistrates to grant Seals of Cause to the different bodies of craftsmen, and under these local charters the craftsmen were better able to guard and protect their special trading privileges, and to prevent encroachment by unfreemen and others. I have not, however, noticed any reference to such Seals of Cause in the Records of Stirling.

The Incorporation of Hammermen comprised nearly all the trades in which the hammer was used—gold and silversmiths, blacksmiths, white iron smiths, coppersmiths, armourers, gunsmiths, powder-makers, brasiers, glaziers, wrights, potters, cutlers, hookmakers, plumbers, pewterers, saddlers, lorimers, card or reedmakers, watchmakers, &c. In Aberdeen the skimmers and glovers were also included among the hammermen, because in olden times the gloves mostly used were very different from the dainty kid articles of to-day, but in Stirling the skimmers and glovers had an incorporation of their own.

What the ancient arms of the local Incorporation of Hammermen were, is not known. Their flag, which was painted in 1830 for a great procession during the Reform agitation, is, I am informed, an exact reproduction of the old flag. It shows a hand holding up a hammer surmounted by a crown, with the motto below, "By hammer in hand all arts do stand." There is no shield, and it is possible the representation may form only a part of the armorial bearing of the Incorporation. There are also preserved in their box two brass stamps, one being a hammer and the other a crown, but these are merely bookbinder's tools which have evidently been used for stamping the boards of the Deacon's Bible and Psalmbook, which were formerly placed in the Hammerman's Loft in the Parish Church, but are now unused.



The arms at present used by the Incorporation are modern. It appears that the late Mr Hugh Kirkwood, printer, having been asked about 25 years ago to supply some suitable device for the Hammermen's invitation cards, &c., suggested a coat of arms similar to that of the late Mr Archibald M'Lachlan, nail manufacturer, St Ninians. These arms, it is said, were copied from a stone in one of the old buildings in the village, but so far as I know, that stone is no longer visible. If this were the real origin of the arms, it would be very interesting, as of course the only armorial bearings of the hammermen that could be inserted in the wall of a St Ninians house would be those of the Stirling Incorporation. The St Ninians nailers could neither buy their iron nor sell their nails in Stirling unless they were members of the Incorporation of Hammermen. The arms thus supplied may be heraldically described as follows: *Argent*, a chevron *sable*; in chief a man's heart *gules*, between two smiths' hammers proper, hefted of the last, and ensigned with an imperial crown *or*; in base, a similar hammer grasped by a sinister hand. Crest, a phoenix in flames. Motto: "By hammer in hand all arts do stand." From a privately-printed pamphlet, entitled "Coats Armorial of Scottish Trade Incorporations," I find that five of the

eight trades comprised in the Hammermen's Incorporation of Edinburgh, namely, the blacksmiths, saddlers, lorimers, armourers, and pewterers, have a chevron as part of their arms, while the Glasgow Hammermen have in base of their coat armorial a phoenix in flames. The crowned hammer seems to be common to all the Incorporations of Hammermen. In connection with the Aberdeen Incorporation, Mr Bain gives some quaint seventeenth century lines on the emblazoned panel of the Hammermen's arms, which I may quote as having also a local application:—

Our Art over all Mechanics hath renown.  
 Our Arms the Hammer and the Royal Crown.  
 Around this shield ten ovals you behold.  
 Wherein ten several emblems stand in gold,  
 Deciphering ten distinct trades to be  
 All comprehended in our Deaconrie.  
 And yet the ten have but one general name—  
 The generous ingenious HAMMER-MEN,  
 Whose profound skill in their renowned Art.  
 Doeth to each corner of the worlde impart  
 Profite and pleasure both ; for every man.  
 From the greatest monarch to the country swaine.  
 Is to their art obliged lease or more :  
 By them, crowns doe the heads of kings decore ;  
 By them, each warlick instrument is made ;  
 By them, the ploughman labure for our bread ;  
 It's by their art we calculat our tyme ;  
 By them vast armies in their armor shine.  
 Without their art no comonwealth could stand -  
 Without them traffic fails by sea and land,  
 All handicrafts, no doubt acknou'edge will  
 Their livelyhoods depends upon their skill.  
 There's non but knows from whence they had their  
 spring—  
 Their art did with the infant world begin ;  
 That every age hath bettered ever since ;  
 It first with Tubal Cain did commence  
 Which cunning men designed in Scripture phrase,  
 That doth import a high and lofty praise.  
 The anvill and the hammer you behold.  
 Above the which is plact a c'rown of gold,  
 The badges of their honour let's us see,  
 All other tra'ds to their's are pedantrie :  
 But in the least on no trade to reflect,  
 Let every on to them pay that respect  
 They doe deserve since their ingenious art  
 By words can never have its due desart,  
 And so let God who doeth infuse all skill  
 Within men's breasts protect them ever still.

The oldest extant minute-book of the Stirling Incorporation of Hammermen is not the first, the earliest date in it being 1596. I am not aware, however, that any of the other Incorporations can show an older record. It begins only four years later than the first minute we have of the Stirling Guildry, and the first entry was made six months before the earliest minute of the Kirk Session which has been preserved. The volume, therefore, is of quite respectable antiquity. A copy of the minutes it contains, made in 1721, has also been preserved. The spelling is slightly altered, and the transcript is not strictly accurate. On 24th January, 1596, which is 1597 according to the present reckoning, Robert Robertson, Deacon of the Hammermen, gave in a statement of his accounts, and a note of this is the first entry in the minute-book. Robert was a powder maker, and in 1599 was Convener-Deacon, as that office was then named. The Clerk who wrote the minutes was no doubt a notary public, as even the Deacon in these days was not expected to be able to read or write, and if he could form the initials of his name, it is morally certain that some of his brethren were only capable of making their mark. The Guildry minutes show how few, even of the merchants, who considered themselves a higher class, could sign their own names. A number of the names appended to the minutes written in this book are followed by the words "With my hand." This does not always, or generally, mean that they were written by the persons named, as the full form was "With my hand at the pen of the notar." John Maless, the clerk, whose name appears in the first minute, frankly declares, "With my hand, att the command of the haill brayir, becauss yai could not vryt." In order to avoid being tedious, I have extracted only a few of the Hammermen's minutes, selecting the most interesting.

1599 (2d Nov.)—Every brother warned to ye hillis, and keepis not ye hour, sall pay xvijjd for his penultie and yat for keeping of guid order amangis ye brether.

The modern practice of turning up late at a Council or Committee meeting to get one's name on the sederunt might be similarly punished.

The mention of "the hillis" informs us that the Trade meetings were held on what was known as the Little Gowan Hills, in the locality of Irvine Place, but not necessarily in the open air. It is known that Robert Spittal's original almshouse, which was erected on the Little Gowan Hills, became at a later period the meeting-house of the Trades. An interesting speculation would be whether the Gowan Hills themselves did not receive their name from the primitive Hammermen, as the Gaelic *gobhain* means a smith, and other gowan hills in Scotland are said to be just smith's hills.

1600 (19 Feb.)—*Quhatsumevir broyir miscallis ane vyir broyir eyir in lawing or in ye hillis, he sall pay 20s sa oft as he salbe found to do ye same.*

This is another salutary regulation for preserving peace and good order in settling accounts, which I take to be the meaning of "lawing," and at meetings of the Incorporation. We flatter ourselves, perhaps, when we suppose that there is now no need for such a rule of conduct and behaviour.

1604 (6 April)—Thomas Downie, deacon, receives from Robert Bruce, saddler, auld deacon, in keeping for the welfare of the craft, thrie pieces of evident, with ane coppie in peper, togidder with two buiks, with two pensalls, with ane sueche [drum].

The three pieces of evidence here mentioned are in a later minute stated to be parchments—no doubt, charters or other important documents, which unfortunately have been lost. The "twa buiks" must be the previous minute-books of the Incorporation, probably going back to its foundation, and it is a great misfortune that they also are missing. The "twa pensalls" were the flags or pennons of the Hammermen, and, of course, they have long ago disappeared. Accompanying these were "spenis" or spans, which, I presume, were the pieces of wood used to keep the flags open when unfurled and carried in procession. Another minute relating to the handing over of the common property from the old Deacon to the new, mentions "ane box with twa keyis"—the

present box has three locks so that it cannot be opened except with the keys kept by the Deacon, the Clerk, and the Boxmaster—and also “ane drum with her stikis,” which, alas, is now silent. Even the “twa stauess” or staves, probably symbols of office, are numbered among the things that were.

1610 (23 Jan.)—The brethren agree to stand by their deacon in whatsoever he may do in the pursuit of the action pursued by the crafts against the merchants.

This was one of numerous similar conflicts which drained the treasury, both of the Guildry and the Trades, and filled the pockets of the lawyers. The *carte blanche* given by the Hammermen to their Deacon is a certificate that he was a man worthy of their confidence. However keen the craftsmen may have been for a fight, they were apparently amenable to reason, for in April, 1615, the Deacon of the Hammermen is charged by the Convener to convene his brethren before the Commissioner for reconciliation. Nor did their differences with the merchants prevent them from assisting in support or defence of the Common Good, for we find that on 15th April, 1616—

The brethren being voicit about the pre-serving of the town's rights, consented that the Deacon should defend with the rest of the Council of the town.

There need be no doubt that even if armed defence had been necessary for the safety of the community and the upholding of their rights and privileges, the Hammermen, whose trade was so closely connected with weapons and armour, would have been the first in the fray to fight for their “ain hand,” like Hal o’ the Wynd, who was a member of the Perth Incorporation.

1612 (18 Nov.)—Burial of Mr Robert Bruce's wife. Peter Gib rode with the Deacon.

It was the custom, when any person of consequence in the district died, for the Town Council, the Guildry and the Trades to send representatives to the funeral, which was the occasion of much feasting, and therefore a popular means of meeting friends and enjoying a good crack over a dram. The Mr Robert Bruce referred to here can be none other than the famous minister of Edinburgh,

who was chosen to officiate at the coronation of Anne of Denmark after her marriage to James VI., and who afterwards fearlessly resisted that monarch's attempts to establish Episcopacy in Scotland. He was the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, who settled upon him the lands of Kinnaird in Stirlingshire. From him was descended the great Abyssinian traveller, James Bruce of Kinnaird. Mr Robert Bruce is said to have built or repaired the church of Larbert, and he often preached there when banished from Edinburgh. His wife was Martha Douglas, second daughter of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich. Mr James Melville, in his Diary, under date 1621, writes that the excellent wife of Mr Robert Bruce died about that time, and this appears as the date of her death in the published family pedigrees. In Hew Scott's *Fasti*, usually a most accurate authority, the date is given as November, 1620. The entry in the Hammermen's minute-book appears among entries of a later date than 1612, which is clearly a mistake on the part of the clerk. The Incorporation also sent representatives to the burials of Lady Elphinstone and Lord Livingston. At the burial of Mr Robert Murray's mother in Dunblane in January, 1621, two members of the Hammerman trade, Robert Henderson and Robert Malise, rode with the Deacon. Mr Robert Murray—only Masters of Art, legal or clerical, were entitled to the honorary prefix, and they invariably used it in signing their names—was Commissary of Stirlingshire, and married Cristane Cowane, a cousin of the founder of Cowane's Hospital. The initials of both husband and wife may be seen carved on the oak screen which stood below the paintings of the sibyls in the old house of Wester Livilands, of which estate Mr Robert Murray was proprietor. His mother, whose funeral was attended by the Deacon of the Hammermen and his two brethren, was Elizabeth Hart, daughter of Sir William Hart of Preston, Knight, Justice Depute of Scotland, from whom Mr Robert Murray inherited the half of Livilands.

1612 (11 May)—It was ordained that servants nor off the hammermen sall not work longer than ten hours at even on the Saturday under the pain of xx s.

1618 (10 Nov.)—No servant to work after ten hours at even on Saturday in their fordalls under pain of iij s. iv d. vnlaw.

With this mention of an early-closing movement, no doubt suggested by the Kirk Session in view of the following day being the Sabbath, we conclude our extracts from the Hammermen's minute-book.

These extracts, however, by no means exhaust the interest of the ancient volume now shown, and in its characteristics now to be described it may truly be said to be unique. An examination of the book will show that the Hammermen's minutes are written on paper of small quarto size, the sheets being stitched together and inserted into the middle of a larger book, the leaves of which have been pasted down and pressed into two pieces of parchment, or vellum, folded over at the top, bottom, and sides, so as to form a stiff cover. The book having been at one time subjected to damp and afterwards dried, the paste had given way, and with a little care I was able to separate the leaves of the larger book and brush off the remains of the flour paste. A glance was sufficient to show that the old writing on these leaves was some sort of account book, and I soon discovered that it was a record of the game, fish, meat, and other provisions purchased for the royal larder in the Palace at Stirling Castle. Its parchment cover, which itself forms another interesting relic of royalty, must have recommended it to the Hammerman Incorporation as a means of saving the cost of binding their minute-book, and perhaps to this circumstance is to be attributed the preservation of the volume for upwards of three centuries. There are eight whole leaves and a number of fragments of this account or memorandum book, the rest having been torn out to admit of the insertion of the minute-book. It was the mention of the Comptroller on one page that suggested the probability that the account book belonged to the royal household, but later I found that note is taken several times of the presence of the Queen in Stirling, which places the fact beyond a doubt. I have transcribed a few pages of this interesting record:—

Item, salmond trowt

viiij s.

Item, xxx small codlyngs	xv s.
Item, for ane bowie salt	xiiij s.
Item, for freshe bowtt <sup>r</sup>	viiij s.
Item, viij <sup>xx</sup> eist sie harreng	xj s. viij d.

*Provisions*

xxviij lib bowt <sup>r</sup>	
xx west sie harreng	
marget towilocht	1 lib. bowtt <sup>r</sup> .
ye ij pag sek	1 lib.
forrur (? furrier) sek	1 lib.
Cwntroler commanding 3 lib bott <sup>r</sup> to ye smyt.	

Item, ane grit towrbot	
Item, ix skaittis	
Item, xvj codlyngs	
Item, ij dray skaittis	
Item, for trowtts	
Item, iiij pyks	
Item, j <sup>e</sup> ix est sie harreng	
Item, ane freshe salmond	
Item, for trowtts	
Item, for j <sup>e</sup> sperlyng	
Item, for pranis (? prawns) ["and flouke," scored out]	
Item, freshe bowtt <sup>r</sup>	
Item, ane kyper	
Item, ij freshe salmond	

*Provisions*

Item, xxviij lib. bowtt <sup>r</sup>	
Item, iiij <sup>xx</sup> west sie harreng	
<i>ye space howis</i>	

Item, viij wnce gingir	
Item, viij wnce pepir	
Item, ane wnce clous	
Item, ane wnce nowtng (? nutmeg)	
Item, ane wnce cannell.	

*Extrowdinar*

Item, marget towilocht	1 lib. bowtt <sup>r</sup>
To ij peg sek	1 lib. bowtt <sup>r</sup>
To fourrer sek	1 lib. bowtt <sup>r</sup>
Item, xxiij lame potts	xx s.

Item, ij fresche salmond	
Item, ane powderit salmond	
Item, xxxvj gryt hadoks	

Item, xxiiij dry hadoks  
 Item, dosane small quhyttings  
 Item, ij padillis  
 Item, ij small salmond  
 Item, ij<sup>e</sup> fresche hering  
 Item, j<sup>e</sup> perchis  
 Item, sperlings  
 Item, j<sup>e</sup> lamper eilis  
 Item, iiij small pyks  
 Item, xx born trowtts  
 Item, ij<sup>e</sup> egis  
 Item, xxxvj lib. butter  
     Sovme [Sum]  
     To ye baxter  
     To ye spice hous

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Item, iiij<sup>e</sup> freshe herring  
 Item, j<sup>e</sup> quhyttings  
 Item, xlvij small ["codlings" scored out] fluks  
 Item, xij small hadoks  
 Item, ane salmond trowt  
 Item, ane lytill trowt  
 Item, iiij freshe salmond  
 Item, ij eilllis  
 Item, x dry hadoks  
 Item, xxiiij sperlingis  
 Item, j<sup>e</sup> perchis  
 Item, xx trowtts  
 Item, xij dry quhytingis  
 Item, xxvj lib. butt<sup>r</sup>  
 Item, vij<sup>xx</sup> eigis  
     To ye baxter

---

I exhibit a photograph of this page, which is, perhaps, the clearest of the lot. The black mark in the middle is the trail of a genuine bookworm which has eaten its way through the leaves.

---

ffursday the first  
 day of december

Item, iiij <sup>arts</sup> beif  
 Item, iiij moton iiij <sup>arts</sup>  
 Item, vj geis  
 Item, xij caponis  
 Item, j dowk  
 Item, j cowing (?)  
 Item, vj plowers  
 Item, j pertrik

Item, iiij teilis  
 Item, ij wodcock  
 Item, iiij qualzeis  
 Item, iiij lib. sewat  
 Item, xij rodekeins, xij quhit sasis  
 Item, als mekyl blud  
 Item, x lib. lard  
 Item, iiij lib. butter

Item, vij geis  
 Item, vj greis  
 Item, vj dowks  
 Item, j wild dowk  
 Item, iiij wodcock  
 Item, ij teilis  
 Item, vj ploweris  
 Item, iiij pertreiks  
 Item, vj schik (? sheep)

Item, for fresche watter flowks  
 To ye pekart at ye controllar comand 1 lib. bout<sup>r</sup>  
 Item, j<sup>e</sup> salt harreng weest [sie]

Mononday ye of Merche

*ye quein all day in Striulyne*

Item, iiij fresche salmond	xxx s.
Item, j <sup>e</sup> small quhtyngs	l s.
Item, xxiiij grit haddoks	xx s.
Item, ane fresche salmond	xviiij s.
Item, j fresche kelyng	vij s.
Item, salt watter flowks	xv s.
Item, ij codlyngs	xij s.
Item, ane powderit salmond	x s.
Item, pyks	x s.

Item, j peis sowyne  
 Item, for ye fourston of ye marsowyn  
 Item, ane har  
 Item, ane blakcock  
 Item, xxxij dowis  
 Item, v weil  
 Item, iiij kyds  
 Item, ij lams  
 Item, ane sweyn  
 Item, vj greis  
 Item, peis wanson  
 Item, iiij vnce soker

Most of the fish and game contained in these lists are familiar to us all. Like the salmon, the sparling is one of the fishes of the Forth, and sparling fishing is still prosecuted in the river with success. Dunbar, the poet, in his "Dregy maid to King James IV. bydand ower lang in Stirling," speaks somewhat contemptuously of the plentifulness of the sparling in this district. Addressing the King, he says:—

"Cum hame and duell no moir in Striuilling,  
From hiddous hell cum hame and duell,  
Quhair fische to sell is non bot spirling,  
Cum hame and duell no moir in Striuilling."

The sparling, however, was esteemed a great delicacy, and the poet probably knew that the King had a weakness for this particular dish. The mention of eels shows that they also were welcome at the royal table, although in a great part of Scotland there was, and is, an unaccountable aversion to a most delicious fish. Eels are still largely caught in the Forth, but are mostly sent to the English markets. The "lamper eel," or lamprey, is, properly speaking, not an eel at all. It is a migratory fish. The sea lamprey comes up the Firth of Forth above Alloa, and the river lamprey may be seen at Craigforth. The latter is in best condition for the table from October to March, but the former is finest in May. The death of Henry I. of England was occasioned by eating lampreys, probably, as Parnell remarks, when out of season. Padillis are a coarse fish found at the mouth of the Forth, and kelyng is a large cod. "Cowing," or "cawing," the name of a bird, puzzles me. "Marswyn" is, I think, the flesh of the boar. The blood mentioned in one list was probably used for making black puddings. "Cannell" is old Scots for cinnamon. "Roddikin" is explained by Jamieson as the fourth stomach of the cow. This is no doubt what goes by the modern name of "tripe." Marget Towilocht I take to be the name of the cook or pantry-maid, and the "sek" supplied to the two pages and the furrier was Falstaff's sack, a kind of sherry-wine. "Lame" pots were of earthenware. "Pekart" is a small ship.

When and for whom was all this provision made? It is of course possible that the entries

in this larder-book refer to the ordinary supplies for the royal table and household consumption, but even for royalty the supply, on the assumption that there were fish, meat, and game for each day's meals, seems rather liberal. If, on the other hand, the lists of which specimens have been given can be accounted for by some special occasion, this is a circumstance which will add to the interest of the book before us. Although months and days of the week occasionally appear in the leaves which have been preserved, no year is mentioned, which makes the time the entries were written a matter of calculation, and, to some extent, of speculation. Thursday, 1st December, and Monday, the      of March, have already been noted as appearing in the accounts. There are also the following entries which may help to throw light on the question under consideration:—

fforsday ye xx day  
of Apreill

Sunday ye xxiiij day of Apreill  
Resauit fra Alex. Wright

Tuesday ye x x  
ye quein all day of

fursday ye ye (*sic*)  
xvj day of desember

Sunday      day of  
ye quein  
in Sterlyng

quein in Sterlyng

These are all the materials available for our computation of the period to which the royal larder-book belongs, and we must just make the best of them. Reference to a perpetual almanac, often a very useful thing, shows that the years in the latter half of the sixteenth century in which the 1st December fell on a Thursday, numbered seven, but for a reason to be afterwards given, we need only count from after the Reformation in 1560. There remain then but four, namely, 1569, 1580, 1586, and 1597. In each of the years following these four, Thursday fell on the 20th, and Sunday on the

23rd April, and therefore they stand in the proper relation to Thursday, 1st December. The year wanted must consequently be one of the four above-mentioned. The process of exhaustion can be carried a little further by a reference to the history of Scotland. In 1569, the first of the four possible years, the Queen of Scots was in captivity in England. Neither in 1580 nor in 1588 was there a Queen of Scotland, James VI. being unmarried till 1589. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that it is to the years 1597 and 1598 that the royal larder-book must be referred, and the handwriting, according to a professional expert I have consulted, confirms this as the date of the entries. Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI., is the Queen whose visits to Stirling Castle are noted down by the keeper of the larder in or near the Palace. One of our historians (Tytler) mentions that in 1598 the Duke of Holstein, Queen Anne's brother, came to Scotland on a visit to his sister and brother-in-law, and this visit seems to have thrown the Court into a perpetual whirl of pageantry, intoxication, and masquerade. The people, according to a letter of the English ambassador dated in June, groaned at the expense, and His Majesty was much distempered both in his privy purse and his digestion. From Moysie's "Memoirs" we learn that the Queen's brother came over in March and remained till July. On his arrival he made a progress from Holyrood House to the other side of the Forth, and came round by Stirling and Linlithgow on his way back to Edinburgh. The King, adds Moysie, gave him banquets in Holyrood House and Stirling sundry times, and entertained him with pastime and all other things to his great liking and contentment. It is not impossible that the liberal supply of fish, meat, and game for the Palace of Stirling recorded in the fragment of the royal larder-book now produced, is at least partly accounted for by the profuse hospitality shown to the joyous Dane. Tytler also notices the necessities to which the King had reduced himself about this time, by his too lavish gifts to favourites, and the thoughtless extravagance of his household, of which latter we have perhaps a few examples in the contemporaneous household book we have been discussing.

There is still a part of the ancient volume belonging to the Hammermen which deserves special notice, and for some it may have the most interest. I refer to the cover, which, as will be seen, consists of two pieces of parchment roughly sewn together at the back of the book. The piece which forms the front cover has on both sides passages of music written on the ancient four staves without bars, and with the square and diamond-shaped notes which were in use before the minim, crotchet, or quaver, was invented. The music written on the outside of the cover is illegible on account of the handling of the book for so long, but a careful washing of the inside brought to light a piece of music as fresh as the day it was written. I show a photograph which reproduces the music wonderfully well. The rubricated title at the top reads as follows:—*Conceptionis Sancte Marie Officium*—the Office of the Conception of St. Mary. The words, beautifully written below the music, are taken from the Latin Vulgate—Lamentations, 1st chapter and verses 20, 21, and 22, with part of verse 13 as an antiphone, and concluding with a passage probably from the Psalms. The verses are—

Vide Domine quoniam tribulor conturbatus est venter meus subuersum, et cor meum in memetipsum, quoniam amaritudine plena sum. P. Posuit me Dominus desolatam tota die merore confectam. . . (?) . . Omnes inimici mei audierunt malum meum letati sunt, quoniam tu fecisti quia ingemisco ego et non est qui consoletur me. Multi enim gemitus mei et cor meum merens, quia Dominus me posuit amaram. Usquequo, Domini, obliuisceris mei?

The authorized version may be consulted for the translation. The feast of the Conception of Saint Mary was the 8th December, but the above passage of Scripture no longer forms part of the Office, which was altered about the middle of the last century. The verses, however, will be found in the *Breviarium Romanum*, in the lessons for the third Sunday of September, the feast of the seven griefs or woes (*septem dolorum*) of the Blessed Virgin Mary. With regard to the music, Canon Smith informs me that Gregorian chants for use in the Church services are still written in the ancient

mode, but of course we know that there is nothing modern about this parchment cover, and I think we are safe in regarding it as a relic of the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle. The composition appears to me to be rather florid for a Gregorian chant, but I have failed to identify it as the work of any of the famous composers of Church music. A recent volume of the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts informs us that the music for the Greyfriars Church in Stirling, which stood on the site of the present High School, was written by the monks of Culroosa, and it may be that the Chapel Royal was furnished with its music from the same source. It is impossible to tell the age of this deeply-interesting relic. It may have been in the Chapel Royal collection of music since its foundation in the reign of James III., or it may have been a later acquisition. The Chapel Royal was not abolished at the Reformation, but it is conceivable that this particular piece of music was, on account of its subject, rejected soon after that event, and being thrown aside, was picked up as a convenient cover for the Palace larder-book, which in its turn was found quite as handy by the Incorporation of Hammerman for their minutes. Such, it is suggested, is the history of the venerable volume to which this paper has been devoted. I am indebted to Mr Gilbert Henderson, Clerk to the Hammermen's Incorporation, for directing my attention to their oldest minute-book, and for lending it to me for inspection; and also to Provost Thomson, a member of the Incorporation, for his kindness in giving me information about their arms, and the interest he has shown in certain inquiries necessary for the presentment of my subject in all its details.

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### THE HEREDITARY ARMOUR-BEARER OF SCOTLAND.

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The following is a copy of the petition presented to the Court of Coronation Claims by Sir Alan Seton Steuart, Bart. of Touch, and which was refused on the ground that there was no occasion

for the exercise of the duties of armour-bearer in Westminster Abbey:—

To the Right Honourable the Commissioners appointed to hear, receive, and determine the Petitions and Claims concerning the services to be done and performed at their Majesties' Coronation.

The Petition and Claim of Sir Alan Henry Seton Steuart of Touch, Baronet, residing at Touch in the County of Stirling,

*Showeth:*

1. That your Petitioner is in possession of the hereditary office of Armour-Bearer to the King and Esquire of the Royal Body, with all the dignities, liberties, privileges, fees, casualties, and immunities pertaining to that office.

2. The said hereditary office has from time immemorial been vested in the family of Seton of Touch and Tullibody, of which your Petitioner is now the representative. The precise date of the original grant of the office is uncertain, but there is in the possession of your Petitioner a Commission by King James the Fourth dated at Melrose, the 9th day of November, 1488, appointing your Petitioner's ancestor, Sir Alexander Seton of Tullibody, to be Sheriff of the Sheriffdom of Stirling for life, in which Sir Alexander Seton is designed "Our Armour-Bearer."

3. By a gift or diploma, under the Great Seal of Scotland, by King Charles the Second, dated 8th April, 1651, and sealed at Edinburgh, the 3rd day of April, 1661, in favour of James Seton of Touch, which recites the gift of the said office to Sir Alexander Seton by King James the Fourth in 1488, and that the said James Seton of Touch was heir male of line of the said Sir Alexander Seton, therefore His Majesty of new gave and granted to the said James Seton the foresaid gift and office of Armour-Bearer and Esquire of the Body to the King and the royal successors, with all the dignities, liberties, privileges, fees, casualties, and immunities thereto pertaining.

4. By another gift or diploma, dated 30th May, 1662, and written to the Privy Seal and sealed the 22nd day of June, 1672, His Majesty King Charles the Second, "in consideration of the many "true and faithful services done and performed

"by the predecessors of our well beloved servant, James Seton of Touch, as Armour-Bearer to our most noble progenitors, and Squire of our royal "bodies," granted to the said James Seton of Touch, and James Seton, his eldest son, a yearly pension of £300, to be paid out of the first and readiest of the revenues of Scotland. The Treasury records show that this salary was regularly paid.

5. By a Charter under the Great Seal of Scotland, dated 19th October, 1681, His Majesty King Charles the Second ratifies, approves, and confirms to and in favour of James Seton of Touch, for himself, and as heir of the deceased James Seton of Touch, his father, *all* and *sundry* gifts, charters, infestments, and other rights and securities whatsoever made and granted by His Majesty or any of his ancestors, or any other person or persons whatsoever, to the said James Seton of Touch or his said deceased father or his predecessors, of the lands and Barony of Touch and heritable office of Armour-Bearer to His Majesty and his successors and Esquire of his Royal Body, with all the honours, privileges, salaries, profits, and duties thereto belonging, and specially all gifts and grants of the foresaid heritable office made to the deceased Sir Alexander Seton of Tullibody, great grandfather of the said deceased James Seton of Touch, by King James the Fourth; and particularly the new gift or diploma by His Majesty to the said deceased James Seton of Touch, relative to the former gifts of the said heritable office, which gift and diploma bears date at Stirling, the 8th day of April, 1651; and further, by the same charter, His Majesty gives, grants, and disposes to the said James Seton then of Touch, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to his heirs male and assignees whomsoever, *all* and *hail* the said lands and Barony of Touch with the heritable office of Armour-Bearer.

6. From the time of the original grant to the present day, the said hereditary office has been held by the family of Seton of Touch, and has been regularly carried on in the family titles to the estate of Touch. The immediate predecessor of your Petitioner in the family estates and in the said hereditary office was the now deceased Sir Henry James Seton Steuart, Baronet, whose title

was a Crown Writ of Clare Constat in his favour, dated the 17th day of December, 1866, to "*all*" and *whole* the lands and Barony of Touch-Seton" as therein described, "comprehending in said Barony *all* and *whole* the heritable office of "Armour-Bearer and Esquire of the Royal Body" to Her Majesty and her royal successors." The said office has passed by inheritance to your Petitioner, who is duly vested and seized therein according to the forms of the law of Scotland, in virtue of a decree of the Sheriff of Chancery at Edinburgh, bearing date the ninth, and recorded in Chancery the twelfth, both days of June, 1885, whereby your Petitioner was served heir to the said deceased Sir Henry James Seton Steuart, Baronet, in the lands and Barony of Touch Seton and others, comprehending in said Barony, the said heritable office of Armour-Bearer and Esquire of the Royal Body.

7. The claims of your Petitioner's predecessors to exercise the duties of the said office have been recognised in the past. At the time of the coronation of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, the said office was held by your Petitioner's ancestress, Dame Elizabeth Margaret Seton Steuart of Touch, who, being unable to discharge in person the duties of the office, was allowed to appoint her son, Archibald Seton Steuart, Esquire, your Petitioner's father, to be her deputy, and the said Archibald Seton Steuart attended the coronation in that capacity.

8. On the occasion of her late Majesty Queen Victoria unveiling the statue of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, on 17th August, 1876, your Petitioner's immediate predecessor, Sir Henry James Seton Steuart, Baronet, was officially called out to attend on Her Majesty's person at the ceremony as Hereditary Armour-Bearer of Scotland, and the said Sir Henry James Seton Steuart accordingly attended as one of the Officers of State on that occasion.

Your Petitioner therefore claims to exercise the office of Hereditary Armour-Bearer to the King and Esquire of the Royal Body, and to perform the duties and services pertaining to that office at the approaching coronation of their Majesties.

And your Petitioner will ever pray, &c.  
October, 1901.

THE EARLDOM OF MENTEITH.

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The following Notes, which have not previously appeared in print, throw light upon some points in the history of this historic dormant Earldom.

I.—Observations on the Genealogical Tree of the  
Grahams, Earls of Stratherne, Monteith, and  
Airth and their Descendants, 1785. (Original  
in Allardice Charter Chest.)

The Tree has for most part been taken from authentic writings, and from my knowledge of persons who have died in my own time or are yet alive. Some of their Marriages I have not been able to discover owing to the many accidents that have happened Family writings since the days of the Count Palatine of Stratherne, and I'll venture to say that many who appear on that Tree never had Contracts of Marriage.

It is to be observed that if any of the issue of the old family of Gartartan and Gartmore in the male line existed, they, no doubt, were the last male Cadent of the Earls of Monteith, as being descended from William, third Earl of Monteith, whereas that branch of Gartur comes from Alexr., 2nd Earl, being the generation before. But it is evident that there is no male Cadent of that family.<sup>1</sup> The estate of Gartmore fell to an Heiress, who married John Alexander, 4th son to William, 1st Earl of Stirling. This Heiress's Father's name was John Graham, and as I am well informed he was the son of Gilbert, who I have placed at the top of the branch of the old family of Gartmore. Which John Alexander and his Spouse sold the lands of Gartmore to John Graham, progenitor to the present family of Gartmore, and father of Sir William Graham.

About 20 years ago, Thomas Graham at Greenlaw pretending that he was descended in the male line from Gilbert Graham of Gartartan, and assisted by the Earl of Marchmont and a Man of business, began to make researches for writings, &c. At this time William Graham of Gartur, who was fond of his descent, got into his hands a dis-

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<sup>1</sup> This negatives the claim made on behalf of the Grahams of Leitchtown in the *Genealogical Magazine*, vol. I. p. 67, which family is noticed further on.

charge granted by John Roy Graham, Tutor of Gartmore, and put it on Record, in which John Roy Graham, the predecessor of Thomas Graham in Greenlaw, the then claimant, is designed bastard Son of Gilbert Graham of Gartartan. This frustrate all hopes of succeeding in his Claim, and authorises me to lay the bastard barr cross that branch, besides all the old people I ever conversed with in Monteith confirm the same.

I regrette I have not had an opportunity of perusing the family writtings of Allardice,<sup>1</sup> as it is more than probable I may have omitted severall of the Cadents of that family, but as there is full room they may yet be added.

There is a family in Monteith, who I have not set down on the tree, namely, Graham of Leitchtown. I am told by the family themselves that they are descended from George Graham of Gartur, who married Ross of Kippenross's daughter. I verily believe it to be so from many circumstances. They have always been the fast friends of that family, and ly next to them in the Abbey of Inchmahome in the Island of Monteith, where the family of Gartur bury before the Altar, the remoter Cadents of the family of Monteith lying in their order at a greater distance. This family from an unlucky accident have lost all their writtings, so it was impossible to trace them with any exactness or propriety.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A letter dated Edinburgh, 7 October, 1668, signed "Airthie," from the 8th Earl of Monteith to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Graham, bears—"Pray present my servie to my sister Marie and to her husband." (Original in possession of Mr W. B. Cook, Stirling). Lady Marie Graham married (8 October, 1662) Sir John Allardice of Allardice, knight, and had issue.

<sup>2</sup> It is satisfactory to know that the position of this family has lately been made clear by the discovery by Mr W. B. Cook, Stirling, that the first Laird's mother was Mary Graham, a daughter of George Graham of Gartur, and sister of Jasper Graham of Blaircesanock. She married Gilbert Graham in Rednock, and her two sons, David and Patrick, were called as parties to the proceedings following the murder of their uncle Jasper in 1618. The elder of these two sons left issue two daughters, and the younger Patrick acquired by marriage the estate of Leitchtown. Their father, Gilbert Graham in Rednock, appears to have been descended in the male line from Patrick Graham in Rednock, who (27 November, 1558) was joint tenant with Mariota Monteith and Eugene M'William, of the £10 lands of Rednock (Reg. Mag. Sig. 1566-80. No. 1822, *Genealogical Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 840). Who this Patrick was is not known at present.

The present Captain John Graham of Duchray, tho' he is a Monteith Gentleman, is not descended by a male from the family of Monteith. His predecessor was a Son of Graham of Inchbraky, an old Cadent of the family of Montrose. He is, however, descended from the family of Monteith by the marriage his predecessor made with Marrion, eldest daughter, and one of the Co-heiresses of John Graham of Rednock, by whom the present family of Duchray got the lands of Rednock where they at present reside; and in so far as this family is connected by that marriage, I have mentioned them on the Tree.

If in future I shall discover any of the Marriages that are not set down they shall be communicated, and as I have left full space they may be added.

G. G.

(George Graham, Writer to the Signet,  
Edinburgh, one of the Shennochill  
Grahams.)

II.—Notes from Sheriff Court Books of Perth,  
collected by George Smythe. (In Advocates'  
Library.)

John, Earl of Menteith, was served heir to William, Earl of Menteith, his father, in the Earldom of Menteith, 21 Oct., 1587.

Janet Graham, relict of William Graham of Gartmore, appearing by Colin Campbell now her spouse, was served to — of the 12 merk lands of Gartmore, 28 April, 1590.

Seisin of umquhile William Graham in said lands, 4 August, 1588.

William, Earl of Menteith,<sup>1</sup> summoned John, Earl of Montrose, James, Earl of Glencairn, Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, and Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, as nearest of kin on his father's side; Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, and James Campbell of Lawers, as nearest of kin by his mother, to hear and see him appoint curators. The persons above named were appointed, with the addition of John, Master of Montrose, 25 July, 1606.

<sup>1</sup> This was the 7th Earl of Menteith. All the curators of the name of Graham were Montrose Grahams.

III.—John Riddell's Notes, 1836. (Original in Allardice Charter Chest.)

From Sheriff Court Books of Stirling, Vol. for 1648-1652:—

"Thereafter compeared Charles Grahame<sup>1</sup> alleading him to be Baillie to ye Erle of Airth,<sup>2</sup> his fayer." The latter produced a missive of the Earl, and denied the jurisdiction of the Court. Charles is here alleaged to be a minor. 22 March, 1648.

Perth Decrees, Vol. for 1662 to 1664:—

28 March, 1662.—"The Earle of Airth, now decessit, and Charles Grahame, sone to the said earle, being then in armes under his Maiestie in the hills, under the conduct of the earle of Middleton, then his Maiestie's general for the time, who then was in opposition to the Inglessay then in armes for the Usurper, thereafter Charles Grahame did come furthe ye said monethe of October 1654, or thereby, accompanied by the Defender, and liftit and away took fra the said Pursuer, and his Tenants of Blairgott fiftie heads of Cattell," &c.

Bonds and Obligations, Commissariat of Dunblane, Vol. from 27 Nov. 1662 to 10 Dec. 1674.

Bond Registered 14 Nov. 1667:—

"Us William Earl of Airth fforasmeikle dame Agnes Gray, Countes of Airth, has at the deate of thir presents sold and dispoined to me her lyfrent right of the lands and Baronie of Kinpont."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The late Sir William Fraser, in his "Red Book of Menteith," doubted the existance of this son Charles, but his position in the family is clearly shown by a Bond of Provision by his father dated 29 June, 1682, which I had published in *Notes and Queries* of date 14 November, 1896. The Bond was registered in the Books of Session 26 March, 1640.

<sup>2</sup> William Graham, 7th Earl of Menteith, was created by Patent dated 21 January, 1683, Earl of Airth, with limitation to him and his heirs "sibi et hæredes suis." (Original Patent in Montrose Charter chest. Recorded in the Register of the Great Seal, vol. 125, No. 78). The Patent was confirmed by the Privy Council of Scotland of date 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1683, "they in humble and dewtefull obedience to His Maiestie's royall pleasure and directioun, allowes the said Erle and his heirs to be callit in all tyme cuming Erles of Airthe." (Minutes of Proceedings of Privy Council)

<sup>3</sup> The Barony of Kilpont was conveyed by the 8th Earl to his nephew, Sir George Allardice of Allardice, by Disposition dated — 1698. (Recorded in Books of Council and Session, 21 December, 1694).

Year of her entrie to the said lands, 1661. Dated at Ile of Monteath, 23 Oct. 1665. Witness, Archibald Grahame, lawful sone to umquhile William Earl of Airth.

This proves that the Countess of the unfortunate Earl, the first Earl of Airth (7th of Menteith), was alive as late as 1667, and had resided at the Island of Menteith.

Another Deed registered at Dunblane 15 Nov. 1667:—

"Be it ken'd to all men. Me, Dame Agnes Gray Countes of Airth, for certane onerous causes, constitute and ordain Charles and Archibald Grahames, my lawful sones, my onlie and irrevocable donators and assignees, to all fermes dewties &c, restand owand be William Erle of Menteith, or yat sall happen to be found restand owand to me be him for his intromissions wyt the lands and baronie of Kinpont, conform to ane bond (dated) 3rd October 1665, and failzeing of airs of yame be deceis, to yeir neresst aires and executors quhatsumever." Dated at Isle of Menteith, 1st March, 1667.

Another Deed:—

"At the Yle of Menteith the twenty ane of May 1667, it is appoynted betuix the said honourable persones followand—ane noble and potent earle, William earle of Menteith and Airth, Lord Grahame of Kinpont and of Kilbryde<sup>1</sup> on the ane part, and Archibald Grahame his lordship's Uncle, and Jonet Jonston his spouse on ye oyer part" (by which the Earl lets in tack to the latter in liferent the forty shilling land of Monawrechie in the Earldom of Menteith), tack to commence "immediately after the decease of Dam Agnes Gray Countes of Airth, who is lyfrentress of the saidis lands, whensoever the same shall happen at God's plesure"

In a letter to the *Genealogical Magazine* of May, 1899, I pointed out that a Patent of Men-

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that Agnes Gray, the widow of the 7th Earl, is described in these deeds as Countess of Airth only. Her grandson, the 8th Earl, also signs himself and is described as Airth only, till about the year 1655, after which he appears as Menteith, &c., also. It would seem as if the embargo which was placed upon the use of the Menteith title by King Charles I., had been about this time removed by King Charles II.

teith had been sent (10 November, 1677) to the President of the Privy Council (Hist. MSS. Com. 15th Report Buccleuch Papers, p. 231). The President at this time was the Duke of Lauderdale, who shortly afterwards (20 May, 1680) counter-signed the King's letter concerning the Disposition by the 8th Earl of his titles and estates to the Marquis of Montrose (14 February, 1680), by which Disposition the Earl's heirs whatsoever were called to ratify it.

The Claverhouse correspondence printed in the Red Book of Menteith, concerning a proposed marriage of Helen Graham, the 8th Earl's first cousin, with a Graham, in order to preserve the title to the name of Graham, is instructive as clearly showing that in the minds of all concerned, if the destination were not altered the titles would pass out of the Graham family to the Earl's elder sister, Lady Mary, and her descendants. Had the titles been male, there were plenty of male Grahams at that time (1680) to take, and the Earl's younger sister, Lady Elizabeth, had also married a Graham. It is true that the Earl's uncle, Sir James, claimed to be his nearest heir, but this was merely a claim. It is never shown to have been admitted by the Earl or the Crown, and certainly was negatived by the Disposition to Montrose, which does not call Sir James or any heir male, but the heirs whomsoever of the Earl to ratify it.

R. BARCLAY-ALLARDICE.

Lostwithiel,  
Cornwall, 31st December, 1901.

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#### THE INSCRIPTION ON THE ROCK ON THE GOWAN HILL AT STIRLING.

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A photograph of Mr James E. Shearer's cast of the supposed Roman inscription on the Gowan Hills having been submitted to Mr Alexander Gibb, F.S.A. (Scot.), Edinburgh, for his opinion, that gentleman has kindly sent us the following interesting account of the results of his inspection :—

The earliest notice I have found of this inscrip-

tion occurs in Gibson's Camden, in a paper by Sir Robert Sibbald, where we read: "The second seems to have been some six miles distant [from Camelon] to the North-west, where the town of *Stirling* is now. For besides that the narrowness of the river of *Forth* (which hath now a bridge over it in this place) required a garison, there is upon a rock this inscription,

IN EXCV. AGIT. LE LEG.

which sheweth that a Legion kept garison here. 'Tis most probable, that this is the Alauna of Ptolemy."<sup>1</sup>

In a later writing Sir Robert remarks: "The last station or harbour upon the South side of the Firth of *Forth*, was where the town and Castle of *Stirling* now stands, judged by some to be the *Lindum* of *Ptolemy* in this North part of *Britain*. Upon a Rock below the Castle, this Inscription was Graven, which was sent to me thus

IN EXCV. AGIT. LEG. II.

And seemeth to have been the chief Quarter of the Second Legion, this being the main Pass to the North Countries, was guarded by it."<sup>2</sup>

*In excv.* is supposed to be a contraction for *In excubis*, on guard, and the whole would mean, "Here the II. Legion lay on guard."

In Plate III. Sir Robert gives a slight variant:

IN EXCV. AGIT. II.  
LEG.

Horsley also tackles the inscription: "So also the inscription said to be on a rock at *Stirling*,<sup>3</sup> and thus represented,

IN EXCVAGIT LE  
LEG.

I believe it to be no other than that which is now upon a rock on the north side of *Stirling* Castle, and does not appear to be Roman. Some suppose

<sup>1</sup> Gibson's Camden, 1695, p. 958. The Roman Wall in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> Historical Inquiries, 1707, p. 85.

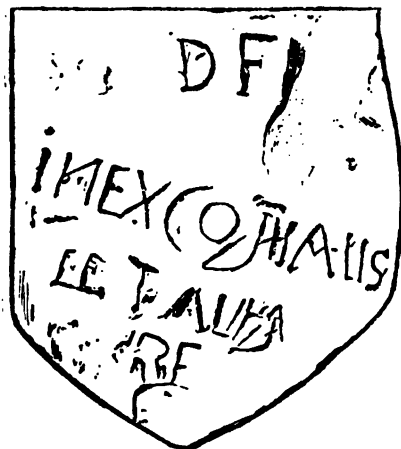
<sup>3</sup> Gibson's Camden, edition 1722, p. 1286.

it to be in the *Highland* tongue. It was thus taken by a careful and impartial hand :

DE  
IXIEX COTH AYIS  
DI LET ALM  
R E <sup>1</sup>

Horsley makes no attempt to translate the above version, either in Gaelic or Latin.

The following is a rough sketch from the photograph referred to :—



By poring over a good photograph of the inscription, taken from a cast in the year 1891, I think I have been able to unriddle the mystery.

The inscription shows two main lines, but a good deal higher up appear two letters DF, which Horsley reads DE. In my opinion they stand too

<sup>1</sup> Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, 1782, p. 206.

high to be part of the original inscription. They are probably some person's initials, perhaps the original inscriber's. They must have been cut in early, however, as Horsley takes notice of them in 1732.

Below the second line appears an E or an F, and there may be a letter or letters before it. Horsley makes it RE. I can only suggest that it may be the same party as is denoted by DF above.

The first word is a puzzle—I is plain enough, the second letter N is an N turned upside down, but the slanting stroke starts at the middle of the first upright stroke instead of at the bottom. I think this must be a ligulate or monogram letter, to stand either for ND or for VD. The third and fourth letters are quite plain, EX. If the second letter be ND or VD, the D had been made like the three-nooked Greek delta  $\Delta$ ; or, in fact, may have been left out by mistake. Index means the fore-finger pointing, also a mark generally, and I presume is the Latin word for a finger-post. Judex, of course, is a judge.

The second word is plain enough :

*Comitatus*

The stroke above the j stands for M. IS at the end should be VS; indeed, it may have been so, and the second stroke worn out. "Comitatus" was a meeting of the Roman people, and no doubt refers here to the meeting of estates, or to the Court of Assize held in 1425, in the reign of King James the First.

The second line is quite plain :

*LETALIS*

which means death, or deadly.

The whole would read Index Comitatus Letalis, "Finger-post to the assize of death," or "This rock marks the spot where the deadly assize was held."

Reading Judex, it would mean, "Here sat the Judge in the Court of death."

The first reading is, I think, the likeliest.

The following narrative will explain the "Convention of Death" alluded to in the inscription.

King James the First and Queen Jane (Beaufort) were crowned at Scone in May, 1424. In the same year, which then ended on 24 March, King James caused arrest Duncan, Earl of Levinax, and Sir Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, for causes not specified. Lennox was confined in Edinburgh Castle, and Sir Walter Stewart in the Bass Rock.

The King held his second Parliament at Perth on the 9th of March, 1424-5, and on the 13th of the month caused Murdach, Duke of Albany, and his younger son, Sir Alexander Stewart, to be arrested. On the same day the King took possession of Albany's Castles of Falkland and Doune. Meantime, James Stewart, Albany's youngest son, flew to arms, and having gathered a body of men, burnt the town of Dumbarton, and slew the King's uncle, John, the Red Stewart of Dundonald or Burley, with 32 of his men. But the rebellion was speedily repressed; James Stewart fled to Ireland, along with Finlay, bishop of Lismore, and never returned.

On the 18th of May the King continued the Parliament at Stirling, and on the 24th day of the month, 1425, the King, sitting in judgment, and wearing the insignia of royalty, held a Court for the trial of Sir Walter Stewart, heir of Albany. The jury comprised, among others, Walter Stewart of Athole, uncle of the King. Stewart was convicted, and beheaded the same day before the Castle. Next day, Murdach, Duke of Albany, and his son, Sir Alexander Stewart, together with Duncan, Earl of Levinax, were in like manner tried, convicted, and beheaded, all on the same day.<sup>1</sup> No historian specifies their crime, but there is little doubt it was treason.

Bower does not state where the trial took place, but there is little doubt it was on the Gowan Hills in the open air. The hall in Stirling Castle called the Parliament Hall was not constructed till the reign of James the Third. The old "moot-hills," including the Royal Moothill at Scone, were all in the open air, for administering "justice," and the artificial works on the part of the Gowan Hill called Hurly Haaky, just above the bridge, render it likely that this was the

<sup>1</sup> Bower's *Scotichronicon*, vol. II., pp. 481-483.

Moothill for the shire, and the Royal Moothill when the Court was at Stirling. No doubt on the day of trial the concourse would be immense. Gowan Hill is a prettier name for what used to be called Gowlan Hill, or Gowling Hill. Two derivations have been suggested for this name, Gualain, Gaelic for a shoulder of a hill; or more likely from the Anglo-Saxon and Scotch gowl, to lament, or howl, and which takes the forms of yowl in Scotch, yell, and perhaps howl, in English. If this be so, the name may have arisen from the lamentations consequent on these executions; whence also the name of the Heading Hill.

The inscription is not official, otherwise the letters would have been all capital, but some of them are small. The date is uncertain, but the make of the letters seems to me similar to those used just before or after 1500, preferably after. I should hardly think such an inscription could be scratched in while the Court resided at Stirling, which it did till the end of the reign of King James the Third, if not later.

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#### PRE-REFORMATION CHAPEL AT THE OLD BRIDGE OF STIRLING.

In an article on Winshelhaugh published in the *Sentinel* about ten years ago, it was remarked regarding the chapel of St Roche at the south end of Stirling Bridge, that it was suspected it was the chapel which appeared in the Council Records under the strangely-corrupted name of St Marnock's, or St Marock's. I observe that Mr J. S. Fleming, in his latest volume, and also in a subsequent newspaper article, puts forward the same idea as something new and original. He is also more positive than the writer of the article referred to, for the suspicion of the latter becomes an assertion on the part of Mr Fleming, who further informs us that the mistake in the Records has arisen from the term "Ma," for "Saint," being misunderstood. Mr Fleming is evidently not aware that *ma* is simply the Gaelic possessive pronoun *me*, "my," and cannot therefore mean Saint, but the custom was to attach the pronoun to the name

of a popular saint, the diminutive *og*, or *ock*, being sometimes added as a term of affection or endearment. Mr A. F. Hutchison, *emeritus* Rector of the High School, has long been of opinion that the name "Marok" was merely "Roche," or Roque," with the prefix *ma*, and that consequently there was only one pre-Reformation chapel at the south end of Stirling Bridge. For myself, I should hesitate, even yet, to commit myself to this view. The question is not so simple as it appears. If Mr Fleming were correct in stating that the chapel of St Roche was founded and endowed by James IV. by charter dated 4th December, 1502, it would prove that he is wrong in holding "Mawarok" to be a corruption of "Ma-Roch," because it is on record that King James left an offering in "Saint Mawrrokis" in April 1497. But the fact is that the charter of 1502 is not the foundation charter of St Roche. It states that the chapel had been previously founded by King James, and was now endowed with the lands of Winahelbaugh, thus leaving the date of foundation a matter of speculation. The question which presents the real difficulty is whether the "St Mawrrokis" of 1497 and subsequent dates in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, refers, not to the chapel at Stirling Bridge, but to the Church of Lecropt, of which St Mawarrok, or St Moroc, was the patron saint. It is noteworthy that St Mawrrokis is sometimes called a kirk in the Accounts, and is distinguished from St Roche, which is always called a chapel. Dr. Dickson, in his Preface to the first volume of the Accounts, says it is Lecropt Church that the entries of 1497 refer to. In 1504 the term used is "Sanct Mawarrokis, beside Strevelin," and in 1507 it is "Sanct Mawarokis Kyrk." How the name St Marokis came to be applied to the chapel at Stirling Bridge is not at all clear. It may have been owing to a post-Reformation confusion with the "Sanct Mawarokis Kyrk" of the Accounts, or a corruption of "Ma Roch," or it may after all be the name of a separate chapel from that of St Roche. In the present state of our information it would be rash to give a decided opinion.     Ed.

To Sanct Mawarrokis Kirk James IV. gave an offering in April, 1497, and another (to the priest) in May of the same year. When the locality of

St Mawarok's is mentioned it is always in the terms "beside Strivelin"; whereas St Roch's is definitely located "at the south end of the bridge." That and the circumstance to which attention is drawn in the *Sentinel*, that the former is sometimes called "kirk," while the latter is never referred to but as "chapel," seem to point to the existence of two distinct ecclesiastical foundations. Another fact tending to the same conclusion is that in the Treasurer's accounts for 1507 there is a note of an offering by the King in Sanct Rowkis Chapel on the 5th of July, and, *on the same day*, another offering of the same amount in Sanct Mawarrokis.

As to St Roch's Chapel, not only the proximate site but the founder are distinctly mentioned in the Records. The founder was King James IV.; but, as "Q." points out, the charter of 4th December, 1502, recorded in the Register of the Great Seal, is not a deed of foundation but of endowment. The Chapel is mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts at a date earlier than that deed. I venture the suggestion that it may have been founded in or about 1501. St Roque, or Roche, to give the name in its French form, was the saint to whose mediation recourse was had in times of pestilence. Now there was an outbreak of plague in 1499, renewed in 1500; and the King may well at that time have vowed or dedicated a chapel to the saint. Anyhow, the building seems to have been going on in 1501, for we find that a payment was made to the "wrichtis of Sanct Rokis Chapel" in March, 1501-2. On the 11th July, 1502, also, fifteen ells of linen cloth were got for the furnishing of the Chapel. Again, on the 30th October of the same year, the King ordered 15 French crowns to be given to a French friar, who had "brocht ane bane of Sanct Rowk." These entries show that the Chapel was built and furnished, and the relics safely housed in it, before the King in December doted to it the lands of Winschelhalch.

The question is, Where was St Mawarrokis? Dr Dickson identifies it with the Kirk of Logie, and, so far as the references in the Treasurer's accounts are concerned, the supposition of a St Mawarrok's at Logie and a St Roch's at the brig-end of Stirling would be sufficient. But now

come in the Council Records with their St Marrock's somewhere in the neighbourhood of the bridge. Is this St Marrock's the same as St Roch's and merely a corruption of it? At one time I was inclined to think that Marrock had arisen from Roch by prefixing *ma* to the name, according to the well-known Gaelic custom. Now I doubt it, and for the following reason. The *ma*—as well as the diminutive *ock*—was a natural addition to the names of old Irish and Scotch-Irish saints (as Colman, Ronan, &c.); but St Roche was a Frenchman, and not of extremely ancient date (he died in 1327), and his name was not localised in Stirling till the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. By that time Gaelic had long ceased to be the language of the immediate neighbourhood, and so it seems hardly likely that his name would have been perpetuated in the town as MaRoch. If therefore Marrock is a corruption of Roch, it must have arisen in some other way. It may be that in post-Reformation times, after the distinctions of the saintly names had been forgotten, St Roch was somehow confused with St Mawarok—but that is only conjecture. Perhaps "Q," or some other who has access to the Council Records, can tell the date and the circumstances in which the first reference to St Marrock's occurs. In the absence of an explanation, the existence of a St Roch's and a St Marrock's Chapel—both in the vicinity of the bridge of Stirling—must remain an open question.

A. F. HUTCHISON.

Glasgow.

#### A CELTIC REVERSION.\*

Although familiar to Celtic students and Scottish book-collectors, the late Dr Skene's earliest work—two small volumes published in 1836—is not generally known. It has long been scarce and expensive, few copies selling in auction rooms at less than a couple of guineas. A new edition, with a much-needed index, will

\* *THE HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND.* By the late William F. Skene, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. (Scot.). Edited, with *INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*, by Alexander Macbean, LL.D. Stirling: Ennes Mackay. 1902. Price, 10/6 net.

therefore be most welcome, and the solid, substantial volume just published by Mr E. Mackay, Stirling, has a distinctive merit of its own which will commend it alike to the Celtic scholar and the general reader. This is its careful editing by Dr Macbain of Inverness, who, by his contribution of a learned "Excursus," as well as by numerous "Notes," has greatly enhanced the interest and value of the original work. Celtic research has made great strides during the sixty-five years that have elapsed since Skene wrote his first book, and even since the publication of "Celtic Scotland," which contains the author's revised and corrected views, there has been such an increase of knowledge as to render some parts of that great work antiquated and obsolete. In modern treatises and articles bearing on Highland history, some errors of Skene's early book which have been carefully, if silently, eradicated in his maturer work, are constantly being reproduced, while Skene's views of Scottish ethnology and early history, which, as Dr Macbain reminds us, were entirely revolutionary, have been accepted by all later historians without doubt or with little demur. And yet, says Dr Macbain, who speaks as one having authority, no present-day Celtic scholar holds Skene's view that the Picts spoke Gaelic; and, as in duty bound, he takes advantage of this opportunity to emphasise and make clear the one great disservice which Dr Skene has done to the history of his country by his theory about the Picts. If Skene was revolutionary, Macbain is distinctly reactionary, for according to him we must revert to the ancient and discredited Chronicles to get the true position. As this unexpected and somewhat startling throwing overboard of Skene is the chief note sounded by the editor of the work before us, it demands and will probably receive due attention from the critics.

The conclusion at which Skene arrived in his *History of the Scottish Highlands and Highlanders* was that the whole Highland clans are, with very few exceptions, descended from one Gaelic nation who have inhabited the same country from time immemorial. This solution of the Pictish problem—what may be called the "Uniformitarian" theory of early Scottish history—still holds the field, but Dr Macbain maintains it is erroneous, and

avers that by "propounding it Dr Skene has retarded the progress of scientific research into early Scottish history for at least a generation. The arguments relied on as going to prove that the Picts were a Celtic-speaking people, whose language differed both from Brittonic and Gadelic, but at the same time only differed dialectically from the Gaulish and Brittonic tongues, are (1) contemporary writers speak of the Pictish as a separate language from both Brittonic and Gadelic; (2) the Gaelic-speaking Galwegians were not Picts, Dr Skene having been misled on this point by two bungling English ecclesiastics of the twelfth century, namely, Richard of Hexham and Reginald of Durham; (3) the Pictish language as shown by personal and place-names recorded by classical and later writers, or still extant in old Pictavia; (4) Pictish manners and customs, notably the Pictish rule of succession through females, or the marriage system, a custom unknown among the Celts, and palpably belonging to a non-Aryan race. The strongest part of this argument appears to us that founded on the language of the Picts, and here Dr Macbain, from his intimate knowledge of the science of philology, is a guide whose capacity will not be questioned. The following extract on the place-names of Pictland is full of information for students of this fascinating subject:—

The Pictish place names are very different from names on Gadelic ground—Ireland and Dalriada. There is, of course, a veneer of Gaelic over them, as the Scots really did impose their language as well as their rule on the Picts. Place-names in the Isles and in Sutherland and Caithness must be left out of account, since they are largely Norse. From the southern borders of Ross to the Forth east of Drumalban the names have all a marked family resemblance, partly Gaelic, partly Pictish. The prefixes *aber* and *pet*, unknown to Gadelic, are found from Sutherland to the Forth. The former means "confluence," and had two forms, *aper* and *oper*, as in Welsh (*ad*, *od*, and *ber*, Lat. *fero*); the Gaelic for *aber* is *inver*, and it has in the most common names superseded the Pictish *aber*. *Pet* means "farm," G. *baile*, which, in fact, has superseded it in purely Gaelic districts for a reason which the dictionary should make clear. The prefix *both*—farm, dwelling, common to Irish and Welsh as an ordinary noun, is widely used in Pictland to denote a *bally*. *Pres*, a bush, W. *prys*, a covert, is

a borrowed Pictish word, and occasionally appears in place-names, as does *perth*, brake, in Perth, Partick (old Perthoc, Strathclyde British), and Pearcock or Perthoc (King Edward). British *pen* we do not find now; every one such has become *kin*, as in Kin-cardine, a very common name, for Pen-cardin, W. *cardden*, brake. Equally common is Urquhart for older *Urcharden*, Adamnan's Airchartdan, "At (the) Wood." A prepositional prefix peculiar to Pictish names is *for*, *fother*, corrupted into *fetter* (Fetter-cairn) and *foder* (Foder-lettir). It is corrupted also into *far* (Far-letter = Foder-letter). Possibly it is an adjective terminally in Dunottar (Dun Foither of Chronicles?), Kin-Eddar (King Edward), &c. It seems to mean "lower," "under": *vo-ter*, a comparative from *vo*, Gaelic *fo*, under. The extensive use of certain prefix names in Pictland is observable as compared to Ireland), allt ("stream" in Pictland), corrie blair, and cairn. *Lan*, so common in Wales, is rare, though known, in Pictland; the *cill* of the Iona monks gave *lan* no chance. Ochil Hills and Oykel river have already been discussed. Space does not allow the discussion of individual place-names; nor can the influence of Pictish on Gaelic phonetics and vocabulary be touched. Such a word as *preas*, bush, already alluded to, is easily detected as a Pictish borrow, because initial *p* is non-Gaelic, and its root *gre*, or *qer*, is allied to G. *crann*, W. *prenn*.

As Dr Skene did not re-write for his later work his account of the origins of the individual Highland clans, this section of the present volume will come with freshness to many readers, and Dr Macbain's racy "Notes" will be much relished. With the same vigour as characterises the Editor's exposure of Skene's errors as to ethnology, the genealogical blunders of the text are pointed out. Into some of these Skene was led by trusting too much to the MS. of 1450, and he had to correct himself in his "Celtic Scotland." One of the Editor's "Notes" may be quoted as a sample of the whole:—

**CLAN CAMPBELL.** As Skene says, the Campbells are certainly Celtic. The name is an epithet. Caim-beul, "Wry-mouth," is equivalent to the ancient Irish *cerrbél*, an epithet of Fergus, father of Diarmat, king of Ireland (539-558). *Cerrbél* or *Cearr-beul* became a Christian name as *Cearbhall*, Norse *Kjarvalr*, now *Carrol*. We meet also in ancient literature with *ech-bél*, "horse-mouthed." The name Cameron is also to be compared. The other derivations offered

are useless. There was no "de Campo-bello," because idiom demanded Bello-campo (Beauchamp, Beecham); and "de Campellis" would become Champeaux. Of course the Campbells belonged not to Garmoran, though apparently Arthur, son of Sir Arthur Campbell, got a charter from the M'Rory heiress (about 1300) for the Garmoran lands; but it clearly took no effect. John Macarthur in 1427 lost his life in reviving the claim to Garmoran along with Alexander Mac Roury. These Campbells were, no doubt, the Strathchur branch, whose claim to the headship of the Campbell race rests merely on assertion. In *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 331, Skene says the original seat of the Campbells was the district of Lochow and Ardaheodnich, and he concedes to the Mac Cailin-Moir branch the headship (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 339). At anyrate, it is the genealogy of the Lochow family that is always given; it goes back to an ancestor, Duibhne, who lived about the middle of the 12th century. The clan was certainly known as Clann O Duibhne or Clann Duibhne (Englished Clan Guin, and often badly rendered in its Gaelic form in the old MSS. and songs). In 1266 Gillespie Cambell has the King's lands of Menstrie and Sauchie in Stirlingshire—evidently temporarily; but he is the first Cambell mentioned, and is regarded, no doubt rightly, as father of Cailin Mór (1292), who possessed lands in Argyle, and who is the family eponymus (M'Callum-mor). In 1292, Thomas Cambel held lands in Kintyre, and about the same time Dugald Cambell is connected with Dumbarton Castle as governor. The relationship of these several Cambells, and of Sir Arthur Cambell, it seems impossible now to define. Cailin Mór's son was Sir Neil, who married Bruce's sister. The Cambells are usually regarded as interlopers in Argyle (see Brown's *Memorials of Argyle*), but if they did not originally belong to Argyle, we must not go further than Dumbartonshire for their habitat. The old genealogies trace them to the British King Arthur, a tradition which may indicate that the Cambells originally lived on the borderland of the Strathclyde Briton and the Gael. The name Arthur is common among them. The Cambells rose then on the ruins of the families of Lorn and of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, partisans of the English. The Cambells of Lochow soon became masters of Argyle; they were a race of statesmen, with high literary talent as old Gaelic poetry shows, and they still manifest the same characteristics. Skene's severe censures are undeserved; because the Campbell chiefs nearly always trod a path of level-headed common sense, must they be declared cunning and unscrupulous?

While differing from Skene on some points, and correcting what he considers Skene's errors, Dr Macbain has the greatest respect for the author whose work he so ably edits, and in a brief biographical sketch of Dr Skene he pays a well-deserved tribute to his valuable labours. "The Celts of Scotland," he writes, "owe Dr Skene a deep debt of gratitude, for he was the first to draw their early history out of the slough into which it had got, and to make it respectable. For this end he lent the weight of his learning and position to the cause of the Scottish Celt at a time when it was sorely needed; and he made writers of Scottish history devote fuller attention to the Celtic side of Scottish affairs." An admirable portrait of Dr Skene, from Sir George Reid's oil painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, forms an appropriate frontispiece to a volume which reflects credit alike on editor and publisher, who have rendered an important service to Celtic literature and research by the issue of such a useful edition of Skene's early work on the Scottish Highlands and the Scottish Highlanders.

#### A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The following items of news relating to Stirling and district are extracted from *The Dundee Weekly Advertiser*—the forerunner of the present *Dundee Advertiser*—for 1801-02. As it was not until 1820 that Stirling possessed its earliest newspaper—the *Stirling Journal*—the extracts, apart from any inherent value, are interesting as belonging to a time when the Sons of the Rock were perforce compelled to content themselves with such news service as the Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee journals afforded. It is not forgotten that there were newspapers at Kelso and Aberdeen, but both of these places are so far removed from the City of the Rock that it is not likely their prints of that early day bestowed much attention on Stirling "intelligence."

Dundee.

W. H.

#### SMUGGLING IN STIRLING DISTRICT.

While we lament that private distillation should be obstinately persisted in in times like the

present, we have much pleasure in noticing so frequently the exertions made for its suppression, and to see the laudable and determined resolution of the Justices and Magistrates of several counties to put a stop by enforcing the laws to so alarming an evil. On the 27th ult., Mr William Walker, Supervisor of Excise, accompanied by Messrs Scott, Macfarlane, and France, discovered on a farm a few miles to the westward of Stirling an extensive private distillery, where they found two stills, a considerable quantity of malt, wash and low wines, with suitable apparatus, which was demolished, and they instantly apprehended and conveyed the persons discovered in the still-house before a Justice of the Peace, who, on the delinquent refusing to pay the legal penalty, granted warrant to commit him to prison for six months. On Monday, the 2nd instant, the other persons concerned in carrying on this illicit work were cited at the instance of the Collector of Excise in Stirling before a quorum of the Hon. His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the western district of Perthshire, at their monthly meeting held in Dumblane, when an opulent farmer was convicted and fined in £300, and another person concerned in £50, and one of the farmer's servants was imprisoned one month for prevarication on oath. Such prompt proceedings, and proper application of the law, cannot fail to have a most salutary effect in suppressing practices so injurious to the community.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, February 20, 1801.

#### A STIRLING WORTHY.

Wednesday, Neil M'Donald, lately residing in Stirling, and formerly a soldier in the Breadalbane fencibles, stood for an hour on the top of the town-house stair, Glasgow, exposed to the view of the people, with a label before him explaining his crime, which was theft. He was convicted of having gone into a public house, with two others, and robbed a chest of drawers, by picking the locks, when the servant was gone for liquor. They were disturbed in the middle of their procedure, and the other two effected their escape before assistance could be brought. M'Donald was sentenced to imprisonment, the species of pillory which he suffered on Wednesday, and

banishment from the city for life. — *Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, March 13, 1801.

EARLY STEAM NAVIGATION ON THE FORTH.

A letter from Falkirk, dated June 24, says:—  
 "I had the pleasure this day of being on board a steam boat, which was, with ease and dispatch, navigated from Carronshore to Grangemouth, which, in the course of the river, is from two to three miles. It is intended, by the power of steam, to drag vessels up the canal between Clyde and Grangemouth, which it appears well-fitted to do. Whatever diminishes the number of horses, and performs the labour with equal advantage, must always be of importance, and especially at this time when the price of provisions is so high. The nice and effectual manner in which the machinery is applied is an additional proof of the merit of Mr Symington, the engineer, and the whole plan is highly honourable to Lord Dundas the patron and promoter."—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, July 3, 1801.

GARGUNNOCK FARMER CLUB.

The Gargunnock Farmer Club had a ploughing match on the 4th curt. in a field of General T. Fletcher Campbell's at Boquhan. The weather being unfavourable occasioned the number of ploughs that appeared to compete to be smaller than it had been on some previous occasions. The ploughing, however, gave great satisfaction to the judges, and also to the Club and spectators, as affording strong evidence of the great improvement in ploughing produced in this district by the institution. The first prize was adjudged to Duncan M'Glashan, servant to Mr Stewart, farmer at Redhall; the second to Robert Crystal, son of William Crystal, tenant in Boquhan; the third to William Clark, servant to General Campbell; the fourth to William Adie, servant to Mr M'Gavin, farmer at Coldock. The prize proposed to the farm servant who had continued longest in his present place, and behaved well, was gained by Alexander Urie, servant to General Campbell. —*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, March 19, 1802.

FALKIRK BANK NOTES.

Last week a man was committing to Perth jail for uttering forged notes. When he was appre-

headed he had about 90*l*. of forged Berwick and Falkirk notes in his possession.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, March 19, 1802.

#### STIRLING CIRCUIT COURT.

Stirling, March 27.—The Circuit Court of Justiciary was opened here on Friday last by the Right Hon. Lord Cullen. John Roe, labourer in Brighton, in the parish of Polmont and county of Stirling, was accused of stealing cattle. The Advocate Depute having restricted the libel against him, he was found guilty by his own confession, and sentenced to transportation beyond seas for fourteen years, under the usual certification. No other business depending, the Court proceeded to Glasgow on Monday.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, April 2, 1802.

#### LARBERT AND DUNIPACE.

Yesterday, the Assembly had under consideration an appeal by the the heritors of Dunipace against the Rev. Mr. Robert Knox, minister of the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace, of not discharging his duty to the heritors and parish of Dunipace. These two parishes have been united since 1617 or 1618, and there is a parish church in each, they have likewise separate kirk-sessions, session clerks, and schoolmasters, and the poor's funds of each were also kept separate. Prior to the settlement of the present incumbent, public worship was celebrated in each parish on Sunday alternately in two parishes. Since the settlement of Mr Knox in 1794, he has deviated considerably from the ways of his predecessors, and instead of preaching in Dunipace alternately, he has been in the practice of only preaching there once in three weeks, and the sacrament has not been dispensed in Dunipace for four years. The trustees complained of this innovation, and various procedures took place before the Presbytery of Stirling, who desired Mr Knox to state his reasons for the alleged innovation, which that gentleman according did, viz.—1, That the parish of Larbert is six or seven times more populous than Dunipace; 2, The church of Dunipace is extremely ill-situated for the accommodation of the few inhabitants of the parish; and 3, That it would be pernicious to their moral and religious

conduct to deprive such a vast body of people as reside in the parish of Larbert of divine service every alternate Sunday. After a great deal of further procedure before the Presbytery, that reverend body at last pronounced the following judgment:—July 29, 1802 [*sic*: probably 1801] “The Presbytery, after deliberation, agreed unanimously to refuse the desire of the petition, and recommended to the heritors of both parishes to devise some plan to remove the existing evils in which the Presbytery will co-operate most cordially to the utmost of their power.” Against this judgment the heritors of Dunipace appealed to the Synod of Perth and Stirling, who affirmed the Presbytery’s sentence, and the heritors finally appealed to the General Assembly. Mr George Cranstoun, Mr Francis Horner, and Mr James Reddie, advocate for the appellants—several members of the Synod and Presbytery in support of their sentences, and Mr Knox for himself, were heard at considerable length. After a debate, which lasted some time, in which a number of members took part, the Assembly, without a vote, affirmed the sentences of the Synod and Presbytery, refused the desire of the petition, and dismissed the appeal.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, May 28, 1802.

The following are some further extracts of local interest from the *Dundee Advertiser* of a century ago. They embrace a period from July, 1802, to December, 1803.

#### STIRLING BURGHS ELECTION.

Queensferry.—On Monday, the 12th inst., the election of a delegate to vote for the burgh of Queensferry took place there. This district of burghs consists of Dunfermline, Culross, Inverkeithing, Stirling, and Queensferry. It has lately been understood that two of the former are in the interest of Alexander Forrester Cochrane, Esq., and the other two in the interest of Sir John Henderson, Bart. It became, of course, a matter of high importance to each candidate to have a delegate chosen for Queensferry, favourable to his interest. The canvas was very keen, and Monday at twelve o’clock was the time fixed for deciding the contest. Whenever the clock struck the hour,

the electors in the interest of both the candidates repaired to the Court Room, but just as they arrived there, two messengers, with a warrant from a Justice of Peace, apprehended one of the voters and locked him up in an adjoining room. It is said he was in the interest of Sir John Henderson. The other Members of Council proceeded to elect a delegate, when a gentleman was chosen, who, it is said, is in the interest of Captain Cochrane. It is also stated that the election was determined by one casting vote.

Some time after this, the voter who had been locked up, was got out, and the other Members of Council who supported Sir John's interest, proceeded to another election, and chose one of their own number as delegate for the borough.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, July 23, 1802.

Stirling, July 9, 1802.—Yesterday came on here the election of a delegate for this borough, when the Provost, (John Glas, Esq.) and other nine Members of Council, voted for himself, in the interest of the Hon. Capt. Cochrane; and the Dean of Guild and other nine Members of Council, voted for John Thomson, Esq., in the interest of Sir John Henderson, Bart., to be delegate.

The numbers thus being equal on each side, the Provost, as Preses of the Council, availed himself of the casting vote allowed him by the sett of the borough in case of parity; but the friends of Mr Thomson observing that the Preses is, by the express words of the same sett, excluded from having a vote in course, or any voter *other* than the casting vote, and that he had notwithstanding taken upon him in this case previously to give an *ordinary* vote, in order to produce or make up the parity, contended that his ordinary vote, so given, ought to be deducted from the state of the votes or poll, in the first place, after which there would be no room left for his casting vote; for which reason (*inter alia*) they protested, 1 mo., That the election of Provost Glas was null and void. 2do., That John Thomson, Esq., was duly elected delegate by a legal majority, and ought to be commissioned accordingly.

The merits, therefore, of this election of delegate, can only be determined by a Committee of the House of Commons.

It is worthy of remark, that, previous to the

election, an attempt was made by Mr Williamson, the Confidential Messenger of the Stamp Office, assisted by a numerous *equipage* or *retinue*, to carry off the person of a voter avowedly in the interest of Sir John Henderson, near the bottom of the stairs leading to the Council Room. This manœuvre, however, having been foreseen, was immediately repelled by the production of a *sus* from the Lord Ordinary on the Bills, to the great satisfaction of all the worthy inhabitants, who, from their crowded windows and shop doors, rejoiced to see the Harpy of Power thus disappointed of his prey.

Culross, July 13, 1802.—Yesterday came on here the election of a delegate from this borough, when, fourteen Members of Council voting for Sir John Henderson, Bart., and only two for Sir Robert Preston, Bart., the former was declared duly elected, and received his commission of delegate accordingly in due form, and in presence of the Council.

Inverkeithing, July 14, 1802.—This day came on here, the election of a delegate from this borough, when Robert Bruce Henderson, of Earl's Hall, Esq., brother of Sir John Henderson, Bart., was unanimously chosen, and his commission of delegate signed and sealed in presence of the Council.

Queensferry, July 14, 1802.—On Monday last, came the election of a delegate from this borough, when Sir John Syme of Cartmore, Esq., in the interest of Sir John Henderson, Bart., was duly elected by a majority of the whole Town Council, the minutes duly signed, and sealed in *their presence*, before leaving the Council Room, by the common clerk of the burgh, in conformity to his oath of office; *by which all the precept was of course exhausted.*

The total number of the Council of Queensferry is 21, whereof eleven voted in the interest of Sir John Henderson, and only ten appeared in that of his opponent.

In this town (as on the 8th in Stirling) the trusty Mr Williamson, Messenger of the Stamp Office, did not fail to make his appearance at the critical moment, to execute a warrant granted against one of Sir John Henderson's voters, by a *Justice of the Peace*, (Mr John Cowan of Borrow-

stouanness) on a charge of alleged *perjury*. The glaring nullity of this warrant, the outrages committed by the messengers and concurrents, to the number of more than thirty, the indignation of the insulted inhabitants, the lawful forcing of the door of the Council Room, the opportune liberation of the voter, and other very singular circumstances in point of time, *affirmed by one party, and as flatly denied by the opposite*, are matters of public notoriety,—but, being now in a train of legal discussion, I forbear to give you the trouble of farther particulars at present.

The election of Member of Parliament will be held at Dunfermline, the presiding Borough of the District, on the 20th current.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, July 30, 1802.

[The first of these reports and that given immediately above—those relating to Queensferry—are apparently different versions of the same election. The second, which appeared in print a week later, is the more highly coloured of the two.]

Dunfermline.—In the interest of Sir John Anderson of Fordel, Bart., there appeared delegates bearing commissions from Inverkeithing, Culross, and Queensferry, and from Stirling, a gentleman claiming to vote, as the delegate in whose favour the commission *ought* to have been made out; and in the interest of the Hon. Captain Cochrane, there appeared delegates from Stirling, Dunfermline, and Queensferry, the Clerk of the last-mentioned burgh having signed and sealed two commissions.

The eminent Mr Adam from the English Bar, and John Clerk, Esq., advocate, appeared as Counsel for Sir John Henderson; and David Boyle, Esq., advocate, and Mr James Horne, W.S., appeared for Captain Cochrane. Mr Thomas Scotland, W.S., also attended as assessor to the Clerk of Dunfermline, the returning burgh.

After the requisite preliminaries, various objections were stated to the Commissions produced. That on the part of Sir John Henderson to the Dunfermline Commission, is of such a description, as must, if sustained, disqualify the present Town Council of that burgh, and occasion a poll election for a new Council.

When the vote for Queensferry was about to be

called, Mr Adam addressed the Returning Officer, in a most brilliant and energetic speech. He contended, that as the commission in favour of Mr Syme, the delegate in Sir John Henderson's interests, was, as appeared from the records of the burgh, executed prior in place, and also in point of time, to that produced by Mr Maconochie (the delegate in Captain Cochrane's interest), the vote of the latter, the minutes of whose election were fabricated in Edinburgh, ought to be rejected altogether.

Mr Boyle also addressed the Court very ably on the part of Captain Cochrane.

The Clerk has not yet (so far as we have heard) made any return.

When Sir John Henderson, the popular candidate, entered Dunfermline, many of the inhabitants were waiting to draw his carriage to the Town House, but this mark of their respect he politely declined. We understand that a general illumination was to have taken place in Dunfermline that evening, if Sir John's return had been declared. A great concourse assembled around the Town House, but no disturbance occurred, nor, as in Stirling and Queensferry, did any messengers appear to insult the inhabitants or voters, upon this anxious and memorable occasion. —*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, August 6, 1802.

On Thursday the 12th, and not before, the Common Clerk of the borough of Dunfermling, after consulting with his friends, signed and delivered his Indenture to the Sheriff of Fife, returning the Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane of the Royal Navy, and Sir John Henderson of Fordel, Baronet, to attend and serve in the ensuing Parliament for that class or district of boroughs. This, it is believed, is the first instance of a *double return* from Scotland. Each of the gentlemen so returned, acquires thereby a right to the title and all the privileges of a Member of Parliament, save only that of voting, which neither is entitled to till after the House have decided on the merits of the *return* in the first place, and afterwards, on the merits of the election itself. —*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, August 20, 1802.

[The "double return" was duly considered by a Committee of the House of Commons, and some eight months later their decision was given. It

was reported in the terms of the subjoined paragraph.]

Edinburgh, March 9.—Dunfermline Election.—The Committee of the House of Commons, which has been for some time employed in investigating the merits of the election for the Dunfermline District of Boroughs, terminated its labours on Saturday at four o'clock p.m. The result is, that, "The Hon. Captain Cochrane is duly elected. Sir John Henderson's petition is not frivolous or vexatious." Each party, of course, pays his own expenses.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, March 11, 1803.

#### STIRLING COUNTY ELECTION.

The Hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleming has been elected Representative in Parliament of the county of Stirling. Votes for Capt. Elphinstone, 38; for Sir Robert Abercromby, 26—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, July 23, 1802.

We mentioned formerly that the Hon. Capt. Elphinstone was elected representative in Parliament of the county of Stirling. We understand Sir Robert Abercromby is to bring the question before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the point of Captain Elphinstone's being on the roll of Stirlingshire freeholders—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, July 30, 1802.

#### LINLITHGOW AND STIRLINGSHIRE HUNT.

On Wednesday the 10th inst. the members of the Linlithgow and Stirlingshire Hunt gave a grand ball and supper at Finlayson's Inn, Linlithgow, to a numerous and brilliant company of both counties.

Among those present were, the Countess of Buchan, Lady Jamima Johnston, Lady Charlotte Hope, the Hon. Mrs Carnegie, the Hon. Mrs Napier and family, Lady Dalsell and family, &c., the Marquis of Douglas, Earl of Buchan, Earl of Hopetoun, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Lord Polkeminet and family, Sir James Dalsell, General Maxwell and family, General Ferrier and family, Colonel Gillon and family, &c., &c. The appearance of the company in general was splendid, and to the Ladies, in particular, of true elegance, beauty, and fashion.

The supper was served in a most excellent style, also the dessert which was furnished by Oman; the wines were the best of their kinds; mirth and good humour prevailed throughout the meeting, and the company who danced several hours after supper, parted with general reluctance about five o'clock on Thursday morning.

There was a dinner ordinary at Forrester's, the huntsman's, on Wednesday, which was also furnished in a superior stile of elegance, and was attended by a numerous party of ladies and gentlemen, all of whom appeared in the ball room before nine o'clock.

Altho' the weather did not permit of either fox-hunting or coursing, the disappointment was amply compensated by the harmony which universally prevailed.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, November 26, 1802.

#### STIRLING AND THE S. P. C. K.

With satisfaction we learn that the two Ministers of Stirling have transmitted to the Secretary of the Society for propagating Christian knowledge, fifty guineas which they have collected chiefly among the inhabitants of the town, for assisting the Society in carrying on the important work on which they are now engaged, the publication of a new edition of the Old Testament Scriptures in Gaelic. The worthy Ministers and their liberal Parishioners may assure themselves of the liveliest gratitude upon the part of the Society. It is to be hoped that so laudable an example will be imitated by the well-disposed in other towns of Scotland.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, April 8, 1803.

[The "two ministers of Stirling" at this time were the Rev. John Somerville and the Rev. John Russel—the "Black Russel" of Burns's verse. As a native of the north of Scotland, Russel would have more than an ordinary interest in the the translation of the Scriptures into Gaelic.]

NOTICE OF DEATH.—Died at Stirling on Friday the 15th of April current, John M'Killop Esq. of Westhaugh. It is hoped his friends will accept of this as a sufficient notification of his death.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, April 29, 1803.

## CIRCUIT INTELLIGENCE.

Stirling, April 28, 1803.—The Circuit Court of Justiciary was opened here upon Tuesday the 28th current, by the Right Hon. Lord Justice Clerk; when *Alexander Anderson* late weaver in Kilsyth, accused of highway robbery, was outlawed for not appearing to stand trial.—*Margaret Marshall*, lately residing in the parish of Muiravonside, and now prisoner here, was thereafter brought to the bar, to stand trial of the crime of child-murder with which she was charged; but a petition for her was given into Court, submitting to banishment from Scotland, which was consented to by his Majesty's Advocate-Depute, on account of some circumstances peculiarly favourable in this case; and she was banished from Scotland for the term of seven years, under the usual certification.

Yesterday morning the Court met, and proceeded to the trial of *Alexander Houston* dyker at Craigow, and *Andrew Young* travelling chapman, residing at Milnathort, both in the County of Kinross, accused of culpable homicide, as having been the cause of the death of George Beath, mason in Kinross-wood, which happened in consequence of blows received by him in a scuffle that took place in the evening of Lenross [Kinross] fair, in the month of July last. After a long proof, the Jury were enclosed between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, and this morning returned a verdict, by a plurality of voices finding the libel not proven; whereupon the pannels were assized *simpliciter*, and dismissed from the bar.

There being no other business to come before the Court at this place, the justice syre was declared ended, and the Court proceeds for Glasgow to-morrow.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, May 6, 1803.

DEATH OF A STIRLING MINISTER.—Died at his house, Rosebank, on the 30th of June last, the Rev. Robert Campbell, senior minister of the Associate Burgher Congregation of Stirling.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, August 12, 1803.

SEQUESTRATION.—Aug. 17—*James Thomson, jun.*, merchant in Stirling—Creditors to meet in the Coffee-house, Stirling, 31st August at 12 o'clock, to chuse a factor; and at same place and

hour, 30th September, to chuse a trustee.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, August 26, 1803.

CIRCUIT COURT—Stirling, September 14.—The Circuit Court of Justiciary was opened here yesterday by the Right Hon. Lord Dunsiman. There being no business at this place, the Court will proceed to Inverary.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, September, 23, 1803.

A NOTABLE SON OF THE ROCK.—Died at Stirling, on Monday the 12th current, in the 80th year of his age, and 54th of his ministry, the Rev. Robert Shirra, late minister of the gospel in Kirkcaldy.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, September 30, 1803.—

NOTICE OF DEATH.—Died at Stirling, the 29th September, Capt. George Cockburn, of the Marines, aged 79.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, Oct. 14, 1803.

EXAMINATION OF BANKRUPT.—*James Thomson*, jun., merchant in Stirling, to be examined in the Sheriff Court Hall, there, 7th and 21st November, at 12 o'clock. Creditors to meet in the Coffee-house, Stirling, 22d November, at 12 o'clock, to give instructions to William Paterson, merchant in Stirling, the trustee, and to lodge their claims betwixt and the 17th June.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, November, 4, 1803.

TRIAL FOR MURDER.—Edinburgh, Nov. 16.—Saturday, *John Macfarlane*, late Corporal in the Stirlingshire militia, accused of murder, was served with an indictment to stand before the High Court of Justiciary on Monday, the 28th curt.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, November 18, 1803.

MARRIAGE INTIMATION—Married at Stirling, the 21st ult., the Rev. William Schuw, minister of the gospel, Ayr, to Miss Janet Belsh, daughter of the late Peter Belsh, Esq.—*Dundee Weekly Advertiser*, December 9, 1803.

## CARMORE OR CARMURE *VERSUS* CAMELON.

I.—Carmore or Carmure, the earliest known and proper name of the Roman camp and station near Falkirk.

The first time I have been able to find Carmure in record is in a charter by King James the Second to James, Lord Levingstoun, and his heirs, of the lands of the Barony of Calentare, including Le

Strath, *Le Forest of Calentare*, lordship of the town of Falkirk; the two *Carmuris*, which are ten merklands of old extent, *duas Carmuris*; two *Anchinganennis* with *Le Glen* and *Estir jal*. These lands lay in the old barony, and other lands were added to it in this charter, which is dated *Apud Strivelin*, 30 April, 1458.<sup>1</sup> The lands here named include the whole ground from Calendar to Carron Water, near to and inclusive of the Roman station, with the exception of *Pettintockal* (now *Bantaskin*), which occurs a few years earlier. But it will be observed there occurs no farm or holding named *Camelon*.

At a later date, Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, with consent of Lady Mary Douglas, his spouse, grants to Sir James Douglas, the lands and barony of *Kalendar*, comprising among other lands the two *Carmoria*, two *Auchlingavens*, etc. The lands are detailed *seriatim* in English at the end of the chapter—*Wester Carmure*, *Boigtoun*, *Cattlecleuch*, *Eister Carmure*, *Tomefurhill*, *Panmeadow*, and *Cairnemuir-mylne*.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later, James, Lord Levingstoun, has a charter of the same lands, comprising *duas Carmures*. The number of tenants, curiously, is inserted in the charter:—*Terras de Wester Carmure*, 5 tenants; *Eister Carmure*, 16 tenants; *Panmeadow*, 1; *Carmure-mylne*, 3; &c.<sup>3</sup> *Eister Carmure* contained the Roman station, and was evidently a large holding, having 16 tenants.

The Charters of the Great Seal have now been printed down to 1651. From the commencement in 1306 to 1651, *Camelon* does not appear. On the other hand, from 1458, *Carmuris* appears, and the later charters enumerate holdings evidently formed off the *Carmuris*, such as *Carmure-mylne*. But there is no *Camelon*.

Another indication that the proper name of the station was *Carmure* is found in the maps of Timothy Pont. His draft map of *Stirlingshire* is still preserved in a volume in the Advocates' Library, and must have been made about 1600, before he went to *Caithness* to be minister of *Dunnet*. In this map *Easter Carmure* and *Wester*

<sup>1</sup> Register of Great Seal, Vol. 1424-1518, No. 606.

<sup>2</sup> Charter dated 2nd June, 1632; confirmed 9th June, 1632. Register of Great Seal, Vol. 1630-1633, No. 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Charter dated 12th July, 1634. Great Seal Register, Vol. 1634-1651, No. 171.

Carmure appear, but no Camelon. The same thing occurs in Blean's Atlas (1164), in which the maps of Pont, as amended by Robert Gordon of Shaloch, form the earliest Scottish Atlas in existence.

Carmure, in my opinion, had been originally Carmore—Big Fort, from the Gaelic words Cathair, fort, and Mor, great. When the language of the district changed to Scotch, or Northumbrian English, about 1105, before or after, mure as a word understood of the people might come in stead of mor. Such a case certainly occurs at the west end of the Wall. In charters about Kilpatrick in the Cartulary of Paisley, c. 1200, a place called Dalmore occurs, meaning Big Division. At that date all the names in Kilpatrick are Gaelic, and not a few holdings appear; no names are Anglo-Saxon, and, stranger still, none Welsh. Dalmore now appears as Dalmuir, on the banks of the Clyde.

I am inclined, therefore, to surmise that Carmore or Caermore was the ancient and proper name of the Roman fort and small town that lay just outside the Antonine Wall, at the point where the Roman road left the wall to proceed to the North. It would, no doubt, appear a large and important place to the native Caledonians, and may really have been so; for their dwellings, being only of wattles, would soon crumble into dust if disused and uninhabited. Car, which is also the Welsh form of Cathair, helps to form not a few names of places in the Pictish and Brettish districts.

Mr Nimmo takes the same view of the name of Carmures:—"As the old Britons usually distinguished the places where Roman camps had been by the name of *Caer*, that word, signifying in their language, a fortified place or Castle; so a village and farmhouses in the neighbourhood still go by the name of Caermuirs."<sup>1</sup>

The Roman station stood on the farm of Carmuire, and does so still. For their investigations of 1899 the Society of Antiquaries received the permission of Mr Forbes of Calendar for making cuttings in the site of the camp, and also received the consent of the farmer of Carmuirs, on whose ground the station stood, and whence, no doubt, the farm took its name.

Another paper will explain the start of Camelon.

A. G.

<sup>1</sup> Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire*, edition 1817, pp. 14, 15.

### INTERESTING DISCOVERY NEAR THE OLD BRIDGE OF STIRLING.

A ruinous building near the Old Bridge, belonging to the Patrons of Cowane's Hospital, having become dangerous, the Master of Works gave orders for the upper part of the walls to be taken down and the rest pointed so as to make the masonry secure. After this was done we learned that one of the larger stones dislodged from the back wall, and which had apparently served as a door-lintel, was a carved stone, and that the carving had been preserved owing to the stone having been built with its original surface to the inside of the wall. We at once procured a sketch of the stone, which we here reproduce:—



The Argyll crest, a boar's head, surmounting an Earl's coronet, gave a plain indication of where the stone had come from, and we had no difficulty in identifying it as the pediment of one of the windows in Argyll's Ludging (now the Military Hospital) in the Castle Wynd. It appears that about 1862 a part of the great mansion which was occupied by the Paymaster at the Castle was taken down, and it will be noticed that two of the built-up windows in the outer wall, as it now stands, want the pediments, but whether the stone now discovered is one of the missing pediments or a relic of an earlier demolition of some other part of Argyll's Ludging, we are unable to tell. The origin of the carved stone, however, cannot be doubted. Mr Goudie, we believe, has given orders for its preservation.

The discovery now recorded derives some importance from the fact that it conclusively negatives the theory of a local antiquary (Mr J. S. Fleming, F.S.A., Scot.) that the ruinous build-

ing in question was the pre-Reformation Chapel of St. Roche. In his recent interesting but often most inaccurate volume, Mr Fleming says (p. 463):—

“St. Roche’s Chapel existed in 1721, when a tenement, part of its possessions, is described in a disposition to a Robert Russel, as being bounded by it on the north; the east boundary being the *calcylem ducca ponti* shows that it was on the west side of the street—the situation corresponding exactly to the roofless front-gabled building, having its walls running east and west, now belonging to the town.”

And in a subsequent newspaper article accompanying a sketch from an old painting of the Bridge in the Council Chambers, Mr Fleming writes:—

“The Chapel of St. Roch. or Ma-Roch (corrupted into St. Maroch, St. Mawarroch, &c., from the term *Ma*, for saint, being misunderstood) was founded and endowed by James IV. by charter dated 4th December, 1502, the description ‘near to the south end of the Bridge of Stirling,’ accurately describing the situation of the small, old, front-gabled building in the above sketch.”

Our readers may remember that in the “Occasional Notes” column of the *Sentinel* a month or two ago, it was pointed out that *Ma* does not mean “Saint,” but is the Gaelic possessive pronoun “my;” that the Chapel of St. Roche was founded before 1502, the charter of that date simply endowing it with the lands of Winchelhaugh, and that there was evidence to show that the chapel was on the other side of the road on the site marked “Gardhouse” on the plan accompanying ex-Bailie Ronald’s “Landmarks of Old Stirling.” We have since looked up the disposition to Robert Russell relied on by Mr Fleming, and find that he has entirely misread it. The eastern boundary of the tenement referred to in the sasine is not the *calcylem ducca ponti* (whatever that may be) but the *molendinum pontis*, or Bridge Mill, while the west boundary is the *calcipitem* (for *calcetum*) *ducen ponti*, the causeway leading to the Bridge. A reference to a previous sasine of the same property (1714) might have kept Mr Fleming right, for there the west

boundary is said to be the *platan duoen ad pontem*, the street leading to the Bridge. In these sashies the Bridge is taken to run north and south, so that Mr Fleming has put the Chapel of St. Roche on the wrong side of the street and got hopelessly confused with the boundaries of the adjoining tenement.

In his account of Argyll's Ludging, in the same volume, Mr Fleming says that in 1674 the Duke (he means the Earl) of Argyll built an addition to the mansion-house of the Earl of Stirling in the Castle Wynd, and it is for him to explain how a carved stone from that building could possibly be found in a pre-Reformation Chapel near the Old Bridge or anywhere else. The fact is that this so-called chapel was just one of the out-houses of Winchelhaugh, and apparently, having fallen into disrepair about the time part of Argyll's Ludging was being taken down, the proprietor or tenant got hold of some of the stones to rebuild his byre or stable and hayloft. This circumstance accounts for the appearance in the building of other dressed and moulded stones. The true history of St. Roche's Chapel and the Brigend of Stirling will probably be given in due time.

Ed.

July, 1902.

## CARMORE OR CARMURE *VERSUS* CAMELON.

II.—Camelon. The rise and progress of the name.

To the best of my judgment the founder of Camelon was the clever and witty romance-historian, Hector Boece, the first Principal of King's College in Aberdeen. Hector must have been a close observer of antiquities in his younger years. Two Roman Camps in particular appear to have been known to him—"Caermore," near Falkirk, and Inshutthil in Stormont—for he makes great events transpire at both of them. He hauls Agricola as far as Inshutthil, and builds a "brig of tree" over the Tay, which is not recorded by Tacitus. The Camp at Ardoch, though the best of all the Roman Camps in Scotland, he entirely ignores; it must have been unknown to

him, else we can hardly doubt he would have made some stirring events happen in its neighbourhood. But "*Camelodunum*," as he calls it, has a distinguished career, first in the time of the Romans, and thereafter as the capital of the Picts, till it was destroyed by Kenneth McAlpine. But why did Boece select the name of *Camelodunum*? It fell out in this manner. For several years Boece had lived in Paris, strengthening his education, and acting as a Regent in the College of Montagu in that city. At a later date George Buchanan taught in the same College. Boece became here acquainted with Erasmus from Rotterdam, a learned and witty Dutchman, who gives him several commendations in his letters, and among others the singular compliment, "that he could not tell a lie." He was thus a fore-edition of the celebrated George Washington, if all stories can be trowed. But history is silent as to whether or no Erasmus stuck his tongue in his cheek when he penned the commendation.

In the year 1470 an imperfect edition of the Works of Tacitus was printed at Venice; and in 1515 another and perfect edition appeared at Rome. The Life of Agricola, totally unknown to the historians of Britain and Ireland, revolutionized the story of Britain. Boece enjoys the very great and singular honour of first introducing Agricola to British readers, incorporating no small part of the Life of the general into his History of Scotland. John Major, whose History of Greater Britain was published just a few years before Boece's History, knew nothing of Tacitus nor his Life of Agricola. But Boece slipped into many mistakes, as we may call them; but I do not believe they were really mistakes, but rather the play of a wayward and too fertile fancy. For instance, "*Camelodunum*," the Roman fort and town in Essex, forms in Tacitus the scene of many a stirring and tragic event. Boece transfers this early metropolis of the Romans, from Colchester, or the neighbourhood, to the Roman Camp and town between Falkirk and Carron water, and plants it down there, calling it "*Camelodunum*," though I have shown that in Boece's time it went by the name of *Carmuris*. Nay, he applies all the events of history, which Tacitus relates as befalling at the real "*Camelodunum*," to this little fort on the

Carron. He never calls it Camelon, but always "Camelodunum," but he derives the name from Camelon, a very early and totally Boecian King of the Picts. The real "Camelodunum" takes its name from Kamulus, a Keltic god of war, and *dun*, a hill or fort.

Hector's History was printed at Paris, in the year 1528, and at the author's expense. It is not all a romance, though largely so, and reads as seductively as a novel by Sir Walter Scott, and a good deal of the same mixture of fact and fiction. But the work was greeted with delighted acclaims in Scotland, and was so highly esteemed that payments were made from the Treasury to Boece himself; to Mr William Stewart, a stately versifier of the Court, for a translation in verse; and to Mr John Bellenden, archdeacon of Murray, for a version in prose. The versions were made between 1530 and 1540, and were meant by Queen Margaret to be used in the instruction of her son, King James the V. Stuart invariably renders the name "Camelidone," which, in his verse, as in the original, becomes a large and important city, and the Capital of the Picts:—

"The King of Pechtis that time befor thame all  
Promittit hes quha first yeid our the wall,  
He suld be made for his reward anone  
Provest and principall of Camelidone,  
This nobill Grym of whom befor I tald,  
Went to the wall with all tha bernis bald," &c.<sup>1</sup>

This was Grym's chance of glory—he "dang down" the wall, and we need not question was made Provoet of Camelidone.

Bellenden, in his prose version, puts it first in the modern form—Camelon; and does so uniformly. There was a real Cammaloun in Aberdeenshire, and I think a Cameline in Clackmannan, both recorded in the Great Seal Register; but there is no Camelon, as already stated, in Stirlingshire, the lands on which the Roman remains occur being always recorded as Easter Carmure or Easter Carmore.

George Buchanan, in his History of Scotland, written about the year 1580, gives no name to the Roman station, which he describes as bearing

<sup>1</sup> The Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland. By William Stewart, 1848. Vol. ii. p. 78.

much the appearance of the vestiges of a small city. He neither calls it Carmure nor Camelon; but in order to play up to Boece's rubbish, carries off Bede's *Urbs Guidi*, from the middle of the Forth, and plants it down here. George names not Boece; but confutes his fancy that the *Camelodunum* of Tacitus stood in this spot, and also Boece's notion that it was a seaport. With the clear and sometimes too terrific logic that distinguishes his History, Buchanan points out that if it had been a seaport the low ground between it and the Firth of Forth, that is, the Cars of Falkirk, would have all been sunk under water, and there would have been no need to carry the wall so much farther to the eastward. The seaport notion crops up again long after, even among writers of Gazetteers and other instructors of the people; and a notable anchor, which Sibbald first notes in a wary manner, as being found in the neighbourhood, 100 years before his time, figures with considerable prominence.

In his History of Stirlingshire, first published by William Creech, bookseller in Edinburgh, in the year 1777, Mr William Nimmo, minister of Bothkennar, mentions the station as showing "very plain ruins of a strong fortification or camp, which go by the name of Camelon." Among other details about stones of Roman workmanship he says—"A few years ago two, nicely cut and carved, were discovered, which are now built up in the front of a dwelling-house in the village of New Camelon, which has lately been reared up a little eastward of the old station."

From this sentence we gather that New Camelon took its rise about 1770, no doubt in connection with the Locks on the Forth and Clyde Canal, which was constructed about that time. The Roman Camp had also come to be called Camelon. It is but just and equitable to state that Sibbald, writing from 1680-1711; Gordon, in 1726; and Horsley, 1732; always style the Roman site Camelon, and never Carmuir. But in my opinion, as antiquarians and historians, they merely followed Boece, and his translators, Stewart and Bellenden. The Cammeline in Clackmannanshire might be derived from Gaelic *cam*, *crooked*, and *linn*, *stream*, or *water*. Cammaloun, in the shire

of Aberdeen, from *cam*, *crooked*, and *lon*, a marsh. This Stirlingshire Camelon might be from the same words, though the site is certainly dry and by no means a marsh. The first camp here probably goes back to Agricola, whose camps and forts never rose on marshes. Mr MacGregor, minister of Port in Menteith, editor of the second edition of Nimmo's History, gives a comic derivation, showing how strong a grip the seaport notion had taken—"The etymology of Camulon, allowing for contraction, we may conceive to be *Camuslong*, meaning in the Celtic, 'Bay of Ships.'"<sup>1</sup> The important discoveries made during investigations in 1899 and 1900, especially of a fragment of inscription of the XX. legion, and a great quantity of fine pottery, render it certain that "Caermore" was an important position in Roman times. Indeed, from the large quantity of the fine red pottery ware dug up in the investigations, and other indications, I am inclined to surmise that it had been occupied by high Roman officials—especially by Quintus Lollius Urbicus, the builder of the Antonine Wall, A.D. 140-143. Probably it was first founded by Agricola, and formed one of his forts on the march. It must also have been visited by the Emperor Severus, his son, the Emperor Antoninus (Caracalla), and his wife, the Empress Julia, both on their advance to Caledonia in 209, and return in 210. Severus began his road to the north at this point. A full and interesting narrative of the discoveries at Camelon is given in the volume of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Since then a monumental slab, bearing the figure of a Roman horseman careering over a slaughtered Briton, but without inscription, has been discovered at New Camelon, and is now in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh. It is described in the *Scottish Antiquary* for April, 1902.

#### *Retours.*

The printed *retours* for the shire of Stirling begin on the 4 May, 1546, and end 27 September, 1700. Several *retours* contain the two Carmures.

22 May 1622—Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, as heir to his father Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow ;

<sup>1</sup> Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, 1817, p. 18.

among other lands of the Barony of Callander he has the "2 Carmures orientali et occidentali" which extend to a 10 merkland of old extent, and to 40 merks of new extent. (No. 113.)

30 December 1630—Sir William Bruce of Stanehouse, knight baronet, is retoured in the lands of Stanehouse, and other lands, in warrandice of some of which he is retoured in the lands of Cattisclauch, and "Twa Carmures" with the mill. (No. 140.)

10 May 1682—Alexander, Earl of Callander, is retoured as heir of entail and provision to Alexander, Earl of Callander, in various lands of Earldom, including Eister and Wester Carmuire, Boigtoun, Thomfuirhill, lands of Panmeadow, with the mill of Carmures, called the Ladies-Milne; thirled multures of the barony of Callendar; town and lands of Falkirk, etc. (No. 310.)

4 August 1693—James, Earl of Callendar, as heir of Alexander, Earl of Callander, in the same lands, but the clause regarding the mill reads "cum molendinis de Carmuires et Ladies Milne," as if there were then two mills, unless it be a mistake. My local knowledge falls short of knowing where the mill stood, but for a central position for the barony, if there were originally a stream of water sufficient to drive the mill, I should fancy it stood near where the locks are now on the canal.

There occurs no Camelon in these retours.

#### SUMMARY OF RESEARCHES.

##### *Great Seal Register.*

1306-1458.—No Carmures; no Camelon. Perhaps the Barony of Callendar then belonged to the Crown; but I cannot tell for certain.

1458-1651.—Carmures or Carrmores; no Camelon.

##### *Retours.*

1546-1700.—Carmures; no Camelon.

These entries furnish sufficient proof that from 1458 down to 1700 there was no place on the estate of Callendar, of any importance, named Camelon; but all the time the farm containing the Roman Station bore the name of Carmure, the "Car" of which Mr Nimmo judges to have been taken from *Caer*, the old name of the Roman fort. I am inclined to go further, and to suggest that the original Gaelic name of the Roman Camp and

Station had been Caermore. An example of *mor* being changed into *muir* occurs in the Cartulary of Scon. In a charter of the time of William the Lion occurs the name of Tobbermore; in the next charter Tobber-mure. It is now called Tipper-muir; and in the semi-Saxon of King William's age would have been called "Meikyl Well." Nevertheless, in case any person can find in any authentic record, or writ, or charter, the name of Camelon, as the name of a place on the Callendar estate, and applied to the Roman Camp, I reserve to myself the right to change my opinion. Meantime, so far as I can judge, Carmore or Carmure holds the field as the primitive name.

### III.—The "Camlon" of the Arthurian Romances.

Camden is the first writer to observe the likeness of Cameloth—as he dubs it by mistake—in the shire of Stirling to the Camelot of King Arthur's story, which one writer identifies with Winchester; others with Cadbury, in Somerset. But he follows the analogy no farther. No doubt Camden took the name from Hollinshed's Chronicles, or from Bellenden's Boece, both printed works before his time. For a long time no other author connects Arthur with Camelon. Joseph Ritson, in his History of King Arthur, (1822) never names Camelon, though he mentions the Camblan of the Romances, situated in Cornwall. But the late historian, William Skene, Esq., LL.D., in his learned and valuable work, "The Four Ancient Books of Wales," set afloat the notion that the "Camlan" of the Romances was the Camelon celebrated by Boece. Both the eminence of Dr Skene, and the good work he has done for Welsh and Scottish literature, by giving translations from the Welsh bards, calls for a respectful consideration of his opinion, though I am unable to agree with it.

#### *Arthur's Twelve Battles.*

The earliest record of Arthur which we possess is contained in the *Historia*, which is usually ascribed to Nennius. Critics and editors generally consider it to be a work compiled before the year 977. In this collection of historical events, Arthur occupies a considerable space, and stands credited with no fewer than twelve battles. The last of

his battles recorded is the Battle of Badon Hill, in which the mighty hero slew several hundreds with his single hand. But in all these twelve battles "Camlon" does not occur. The omission seems inexplicable, seeing this was the last and greatest of all his battles. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers, Modred fell in this battle; Arthur was mortally wounded. He was carried from the field to the Isle of Avalon (Glastonbury) to be nursed by the Queen, or Elfin Queen of the country, but died at Avalon, and was buried at Glastonbury. A long time afterwards his tomb was discovered at that place, with a legible inscription, as is described by Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1200).

Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose history of the Britons long remained the standard work for the history of King Arthur, makes Arthur's last great battle to be fought at Cambula; this is the Camel river in Cornwall, the "b" being added for euphony. Geoffrey's History was finished about the year 1188.

Wace translated the work of Geoffrey into Norman-French in a poetical version, which Sir Francis Madden says was finished by the year 1155. Wace calls the scene of battle Camblian:—

"Joste Camblian fu li bataille,  
A l'entree ne Cornuaille."<sup>1</sup>

Some copies, to be sure, call the place Tambre, or Tambla, but all put it near Cornwall. The semi-Saxon Romance of Layamon's *Brut*, written about 1205, names the place Camelford, where Modred was slain, and Arthur wounded with [a] broad "slaughter [spear]"; fifteen dreadful wounds he had.<sup>2</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis calls the scene of battle Kemelen. All the Welsh, Norman-French, Anglo-Saxon, and English Romances place this Camblian on the borders of Cornwall or near to it. Geoffrey and his translators twice take occasion to name the Forest of Calaterrum, which I should guess to be the Calatria referred to in the speech of Roger L'Espee at the battle of the Standard.

<sup>1</sup> Le Roman de Brut, Par Wace, poete du XII siecle, Tom II. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Layamon's Brut, Vol. III. pp. 141, 142.

The name may be now represented by Callender, or may be the Keltor, which occurs as the primitive name of the Torwood in a charter by King David the First. Geoffrey makes Merlin prophesy that a heron should rise out of the Forest of Calaterium, and fly round the Island of Britain, and by her nocturnal cry gather together all the fowls of heaven, which should devour the grain of the husbandman, and bring on a famine.

About the year 930, Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, the King of Wales, or part of it, drew up a Code of Laws for that country. Three copies of these early laws are known to exist, the Venedotian Code for North Wales, the Dimetian for South-West Wales, and the Guentian Code. The last has the following passage:—"When the Queen shall will a song in the chamber, let the bard sing a song respecting Camlan, and that not loud, lest the hall be disturbed."<sup>1</sup> If we could be assured that this passage was genuine, it would carry back "Camlan" a long way; but I judge the passage to be suspect, for though both the Venedotian and the Dimetian Codes have the passage about the bard of the household singing to the Queen, neither has the words "respecting Camlan." The district of Guent contained Monmouth, whence Geoffrey took his name; and it may be feared that "Camlan" is an interpolation, especially since Geoffrey's translators' story about the Elf-Queen Morganis nursing Arthur would be very meet for a Queen and a lady to hear. Another reference to Camlan occurs in the "*Annales Cambrie*," a work of which there are also three copies, one ending A.D. 1296, another in 1298. The third is contained in a vellum manuscript called the Red Book of Hergest, compiled at different times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It contains a copy of Nennius' History of the Britons, and along with it part of the "*Annales Cambrie*." The last entry is in 964, but "Annus" is written down to 977. Mr Williams Ap Ithel judges this to be the original work, and the basis of the two later copies. I doubt this; it may just as well be the first section of the work brought down to the date when Nennius'

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, p. 679.

History ends, the rest omitted. However, the entry under the year 537 reads:—

[537] *Gueith Camlann, in qua, Arthur et Medrant Corruere; et mortalitas in Britannia et in Hibernia fuit.*

"The Battle of Camlann in which Arthur and Medrant perished; and there was a mortality in Britain and in Hibernia."

If these two references be later interpolations, they have been drawn from Geoffrey or his followers; even if genuine, there is little likelihood that Camlan lies far to the north, for in that case we should have expected "in Albania," or "yn y gogledd," in the north, to have been added.

*The Scottish Romances.*

(1) "The Morte Arthur."—Mr Neilson has successfully proved that this Romance is the work of "Hucheon of the Awle Ryall" (Royal Hall), who was probably Sir Hugh Montgomery of Eglinton. The poem may be dated circa 1360. King Arthur holds court at Carlisle; but the great battle takes place in the South of England near the Tamber (Tamar); the poet says nothing of a Camlan in Scotland.

(2) "The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn."—This poem appears about the same date, and by the same author. In a prophesy he refers to the death of Arthur:—

"Besyde Ramessay, full ryghte at a rydyng,  
And at Dorsett sall dy the doghtyeste of alle."

Hucheoun was well acquainted with Scotland. In the Lerne-Wathelyn, he makes Sir Galleroun of Galloway complain:—

"My name is Sir Galleroun, with owttyn any gyle;  
The grettest of Gallowaye, of greves [groves] and  
of gyllis [glens],  
Of Konyng [or Comok=Cumnok], of Carryke, of  
Conyngame,  
Of Lomonde, of Lenay [or Loser=Lennox] of  
Kylle, of Lowthiane Hills;  
Thou has wonne thame one werre, with owtra-  
geous will,  
And gyffen thame to Gawane, and that myn herte  
grilles."

Sir Gawayne, after a good round fight with Sir Galleroun, restores him the lands, and receives

others from King Arthur instead; but among these lands there occurs no Camlan.

But the unkindest cut of all to Camlan comes from Hector Boece. He makes Modred's army encounter that of King Arthur on the south bank of the Humber, where the great battle takes place, and the two valiant heroes die by mutual wounds. But he does not call the battle Camlan, nor does he refer to it as in any way connected with his Camelodunum in the north; which, however, he does not forget, for he mentions that a calf was brought forth at Camelodunum with two heads as a portent of this dreadful battle. He goes on to say that he is quite aware that Geoffrey of Monmouth lays the scene of the battle elsewhere; but Boece, as he asserts, followed Turgot, Veremund, and other trustworthy authorities. Turgot wrote a history of the life of Queen Margaret (Atheling), wife of Malcolm Canmore. I am not aware of any work of his on King Arthur. It remains a moot point if Veremund ever existed; anyway his works are lost.

The reader who may choose to pursue this inquiry further will find Dr Skene's arguments in the "Four Ancient Books of Wales." But his argument for "Camlan" proceeds on the assumption that Camelon is an ancient name; if it be merely a modern and antiquarian name, his argument falls to the ground. In the same work Dr Skene offers another name for this wonderful place, to wit, *Caer-Pedryvan*, which occurs in a Welsh poem on the "Spoils of Annufn," nobody knowing where Annufn is. Dr Skene points out that *Caer-Pedryvan* means four-nooked *Caer*; that a Roman Camp has four nooks, and that there was a Roman Camp at Camelon. He gives other reasons, which the reader can study for himself. To me the names in the poem seem mostly imaginary.

This Roman Station has proved fortunate, or unfortunate, in drawing to itself a lot of names. Thus Hector Boece dubs it Camelodunum, brings Vespasian hither, buries Aulus Plautius in the little Round Temple on the Carron, forgetting that the early Romans, like the later Presbyterians and other Reformed Churches, forbade burial in temples, &c. George Buchannan offered the name of Guidi, which Bede puts in the middle of

the Firth of Forth, and which still retains the name in Insh-Keith—Keith, standing for Guidi. Skene offers the subsidiary name of *Caer-Pedryvan*, but mainly the name of "*Camlan*," which he transfers from Cornwall to the spot. No explanation, however, is given how the Elfin Queen Morganis got the wounded King carried from the Carron to Glastonbury. On the other hand, Mr Nimmo considers Carmuir to have a fragment of the name; and the present writer will allow Agricola to found "*Caermore*"; Lollius Urbicus to winter at it, and smash a lot of fine Samian ware; the Emperor Severus to start his northern road at it, and to visit it going north and returning south, along with the Emperor Antoninus (*Caracalla*) and the Empress Julia. All guesses, my masters, but what but guesses are the speculations of Boece and Skene?

ALEXANDER GIBB.

END OF VOL. III.





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